



The Old Trinity Hospital, Physic Garden
Seen in the Foreground

Copy of old print published in the Reign of Queen Anne

over 500 different species, they also being used against cholera. From the earliest times, however, and probably before the Royal Botanic Garden was founded, there had been a botanical garden at Edinburgh.

The History of the Royal Botanic Garden, Edinburgh.

By JOHN MACQUEEN COWAN.

Introduction.

The Royal Botanic Garden, Edinburgh, was one of the earliest to be established, and its history may be traced back to about the year 1670. For information regarding its origin and progress there are many documents and a large number of published works to which we may turn. Altogether the literature which makes reference to the History of the Royal Botanic Garden and to the activities of the men who have been connected with it is enough to form the groundwork of a considerable volume. But for the present we shall devote our attention to the early History of the Garden and when some account of the circumstances which led to its inception has been given we shall follow its development under James Sutherland, the first "Intendant." Accordingly we shall confine ourselves to the period from 1670 to 1720, the first half-century of the existence of the Garden, leaving its later growth and development to subsequent issues of these Notes. Among works which have already been published and which demand our notice, special mention should be made of the writings of historians, who, in their accounts of the city of Edinburgh, have made brief reference to the Garden (2, 3, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 16, 18, 28, 30, 31, 42). At the same time we shall have to consult others, who, in writing of the University, have something to say about the eminent men—her Professors of Botany—who from time to time have been responsible for the welfare of the Garden (5, 7, 13, 17). A pamphlet published by His Majesty's Stationery Office (15) gives a brief outline of the whole history of the Garden from its early days (near Trinity Hospital at the end of the Nor' Loch, now part of the

NOTE.—The numbers in round brackets relate to the bibliographical references. Interpolated editorial remarks are enclosed in square brackets. Except where there is an obvious error, the spelling of the original text is retained although often inconsistent.

Waverley Station) to the present day at Inverleith, whither it was transferred in 1823.

Now, while the literature to which attention has been directed covers our subject in a general way, yet for the most part it does not treat primarily of the Garden, and various other sources of information revealed by recent research have enabled us to make a considerable contribution to the completeness of the historical record. For the discovery and collection of a large number of manuscripts relative to our subject we are indebted to the late Sir Isaac Bayley Balfour, who, some thirty years ago, instituted a search for original documents. Later he co-operated with the late Mr. D. W. Kemp, who had begun upon his own account to collect material with a view to publishing a Memoir of James Sutherland, the first Keeper of the Garden (71).

Professor Sir William Wright Smith and Mr. D. N. Kemp, son of the late Mr. D. W. Kemp, have very generously placed all the available evidence at my disposal, and without this assistance it would not have been possible, in a comparatively short time, to draw up this narrative of the early days of the Garden. It is therefore a duty and a pleasure gratefully to acknowledge both Mr. Kemp's and Sir Isaac's work. But during the course of the twenty or thirty years that have elapsed since they were concerned with this subject, certain other documents, many also in manuscript, have come to light. For help in collecting these additional records I have especially to thank Dr. Meikle of the Scottish National Library, Mr. Angus of the Register House, Mr. Charles Boog Watson, and also Dr. Marguerite Wood, who has examined the records of the Town Council of Edinburgh and allowed me to consult them. It may be mentioned that search has been made in the Libraries at the British Museum, Oxford, Aberdeen, Paris, Montpellier, and at the University of Edinburgh, while the Minutes of the Society of Advocates and of the Society of Antiquaries in this city were also examined. To Miss H. T. Maxwell, who has checked many of the records and helped with other details, my thanks are also due.

In compiling this account of the history of the Royal Botanic Garden, Edinburgh, it has been my endeavour as far as possible to make use of original texts and to present them as a consecutive narrative by commenting and giving explanatory notes where necessary, while at the same time allowing the documents to speak for themselves rather than attempting to add to their significance by vague conjecture. Many of those quoted are of considerable historical interest and are now published for the first time; yet, while every effort has been made to secure a record as complete as possible, it is inevitable that gaps should occur when the material available is for the most part disconnected.

Its Conception and Inauguration.

From the earliest times Medicine and Botany have been so closely inter-related that the origin of both sciences may be traced to the same source—the Greek and Roman physicians and philosophers, Theophrastes, Dioscorides, Pliny, and Galen.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Brunfels, Fuchs, the brothers Bauhin, Cesalpino and others in seeking to recover the knowledge of medicinal plants which the Greeks had possessed were obliged to examine and to compare a great variety of their own native plants. Their attention was in this way drawn to differences between individual plants, and it followed naturally that plants were, for the first time, carefully described. Fuchs, in 1542, illustrated about five hundred species and Kaspar Bauhin, in 1623, had enumerated no less than six thousand. The herbalists, at work in different European countries, between them covered a large territory; from time to time the knowledge of botany was further advanced by travellers who collected and brought back specimens of plants to them. This new and growing desire for the closer study of plants led, before very long, to the formation of gardens for their observation and experimental cultivation, and accordingly we find Botanic Gardens established for this purpose: at Padua in 1545, at Leyden in 1577, at Heidelberg and Montpellier in 1593, at Oxford in 1623, and at Edinburgh in 1670. (20, 37)

Dr. Robert Morison, born in Aberdeen in 1620, was undoubtedly indirectly instrumental in the founding of a Botanic Garden at Edinburgh. He was the first botanist after Bauhin and Cesalpino to devote himself to perfecting a system for the classification of plants. When a young man he had the misfortune to be wounded in the Battle of the Dee, and having identified himself, perhaps too conspicuously, with the Royalist cause, he found it expedient to absent himself from Scotland. He completed his education in Paris and, in 1648, he took his degree as a doctor in Physics at Angers. Thereafter the Duke of Orleans appointed him curator of his gardens and he acquired such a passion for botanical science that it became the absorbing study of his life. Charles II. invited Dr. Morison to return to England and ten years later appointed him Professor of Botany in the University of Oxford, a position in which he gained a world-wide reputation.

As Medicine and Botany were very closely associated at this time, it is not surprising that the Edinburgh Botanic Garden owes its inception in 1670 to two eminent Edinburgh physicians, who, having come in contact with Morison, were influenced by his enthusiasm, and did much to promote the study of plants and of medicine in Scotland.

Sir Andrew Balfour, the senior of the two, was born in 1630 and, after studying at St. Andrews University and later under Harvey in London, he proceeded to France where he graduated as Doctor of Medicine at the University of Caen in 1661. It is on record that he met Dr. Morison for the first time in Paris. After a further period of travel Balfour returned to Scotland to practise as a physician, first at St. Andrews and later, from about 1668, in Edinburgh. There he renewed his acquaintance with Dr. Robert Sibbald and by their joint efforts they succeeded, not only in establishing a Physic Garden, but also, with the aid of a few colleagues, in obtaining a Royal Charter for the College of Physicians. In recognition of their contributions to science both Balfour and Sibbald were knighted by the Duke of York at Holyrood in 1682.

Sir Andrew Balfour was greatly interested in medicinal plants. He had his own private garden in Edinburgh where he cultivated them, and he was in correspondence with Morison, who was then at Oxford, with Marchant at Paris, Hermann of Leyden, Watts in London and Spotswood in Tangiers, and at various times he procured plants and seeds from them all. (2, 4, &c.)

Of his friend Sir Andrew, Sibbald writes: "He was a man of a ripe judgement, and of a most taking behaviour. . . . At Edinburgh he practised Physick with great success, so deservedly gained the Reputation of the best qualified Physitian in the Place, and accordingly was employed by those of the best rank." (38)

Sir Andrew Balfour died in the High Street at Edinburgh on the 9th January, 1694, having almost completed his sixty-fourth year. (21a, 35.)

Sir Robert Sibbald, Balfour's assistant and colleague, was born in Edinburgh on the 15th April, 1641, in a house "neer to the head of Blackfriars Wynd upon the left syde." (35) His early childhood was spent partly in Dundee, but he attended the High School at Edinburgh and then the Town's College or University, and he was laureated in 1659 at the age of eighteen. In the Scottish capital there was no medical school at this time, and Sibbald, having resolved to study medicine, went abroad, first to Leyden and to Paris, then to Angers, where he obtained the Patent of Doctor of Medicine in 1661. He returned to Edinburgh in 1662, reaching the city by coach on the last day of October; immediately thereafter he began to practise as a doctor.

Sibbald was a prominent member of his profession, and we are told that it was mainly because of his "activeness and energy" (33) that the College of Physicians was at length granted a Royal Charter in 1681. Mention has already been made of his knighthood in 1682. After holding office as Secretary and Councillor Sir Robert was elected

President of the Royal College of Physicians in 1684. In the following year he was appointed first Professor of Medicine in the Town's College (53), now the University. Only a few months later he decided to embrace the Catholic faith, and being thus no longer able to "Sign the Test," he had to relinquish both appointments. Loss of office was not to him the only serious consequence of this decision : he incurred the displeasure of the populace, and was hounded from his house by a mob determined to assassinate him ; but he escaped to Holyrood and thence to London. After a short time in England he reverted to Protestantism, and returned to Edinburgh in 1686. Again he was elected a Councillor of the Royal College of Physicians, but seems no longer to have taken a leading part in its activities. "A man of pure intentions, of amiable disposition, and of a generous temper," he died in his eighty-second year "in Bishop's Land, beside Carubbers Close, Edinburgh," on the 9th August, 1722. (35)

Sir Robert Sibbald was undoubtedly the leading spirit in the contemporary movement to promote the study of medicine in Scotland, and, as we shall see, he was mainly responsible for the establishment of a Physic Garden in Edinburgh as part of a larger scheme. He recounts for us the reasons which led him to set about the formation of a medical garden, and they are to be found in his short Auto-biography. The original copy of this work has been lost, but fortunately another in manuscript has been preserved, and is now in the National Library of Scotland. (82) It was printed in 1834 (27) and has been republished recently. (19) Having this account at his disposal as well as others (39, &c.) the reader will be content with the few outstanding facts which have been mentioned here. But our knowledge of Sibbald may be supplemented in an interesting manner by quoting from another manuscript, hitherto unpublished, which contains an able and very fair criticism of his various activities. Of the work in question I have been able to trace only one copy, and that is now preserved at the Royal Botanic Garden. By a happy chance it was acquired some years ago through the good offices of a friend, who brought it to the notice of the late Sir Isaac Bayley Balfour and enabled him to purchase it for a very small sum.

This manuscript is without title or date, and nowhere is any mention made of the author's name. In seeking to discover its origin I was able, from internal evidence, to determine that it had been written between the years 1800 and 1807. It is a work of high literary merit, and can be attributed only to someone who had made a close study of the History of the Botanic Garden. Various possibilities were explored and, when several names had been rejected, that of Daniel Rutherford seemed to offer a hopeful line of inquiry. A well-known scholar and uncle of Sir Walter Scott, he was Regius Keeper of the Garden from December, 1786, to December, 1819, and would naturally

have been keenly interested. On following the investigation further it was found that the handwriting of the manuscript resembled that of an unsigned pamphlet of which Rutherford was known to be the author ; moreover, the watermark on the paper of both is identical. Another manuscript work by Rutherford is in a different handwriting, but this may have been copied by a clerk, and I believe that it is not altogether improbable that Rutherford is the author of the manuscript in question. I intend to quote further from it at a later date, but here only reproduce the pages which relate to Sibbald.

" Robert Sibbald, M.D. and first Professor of Medicine in the University of Edinburgh, was descended from the Sibbalds of Balgonie a very ancient Family in Fifeshire several branches of which acted a conspicuous part in that County. Being a younger brother Mr. Sibbald embraced the profession of Medicine, in which his uncle Dr. George Sibbald of Gibleston had attained considerable eminence. Although Sibbald was justly esteemed one of the most learned men of his time, and had been honoured with royal patronage, and stood high in the public favour, no contemporary writer recorded his life, and at this distant period, his biographer has to regret that the few notices respecting him, which can be obtained are both superficial and unsatisfactory.

" Some account of Sibbald's early years and of the progress of his studies is given by himself in his *Vindiciae Scotiae illustratae, sive, prodromi naturalis historiae, Scotiae*, in which as shall be more particularly related in the following memoir, he endeavoured to repel the charge of ignorance and plagiarism brought against him by his acute and satirical colleague Doctor Pitcairne. From this narrative we learn that having studied Philosophy and the Languages at the University of Edinburgh under the learned and excellent Leighton, afterwards Archbishop of Glasgow, Crawford, Wiseman, Tweedie, and Forbes, with the view of qualifying himself for the professorship which he had chosen, he went to Leyden, which even then had acquired that high reputation as a Medical Seminary, which Boerhaave and his learned coadjutors at a subsequent period raised to unrivalled eminence. At this University he graduated in 1661, and published his Inaugural dissertation entitled *Disputatio Medica de Variis Tabis Speciebus*. Dr. Sibbald remained three years at Leyden, during which his time was devoted to the study of Medicine and of Natural History, and having for the sake of further improvement resided some time in France and in England, he returned to his native country ; and his future life was chiefly devoted to the investigation of its Topography, its Antiquities, and its Natural History. On his return to Scotland Dr. Sibbald fixed his residence at Edinburgh, but prompted by the desire of prosecuting his inquiries without interruption, he often retired to an estate which he purchased in the vicinity of that

city [at Kipps, near Linlithgow], where he cultivated with considerable success many rare indigenous and exotic plants. He did not however offer himself to the public in the character of an author till 1683, when he published his *Nuncius Scoto-Britannus, sive admonitio de Atlante Scotico seu Descriptione Scotiae antiquae et modernae*, &c. But his literary reputation had previously attracted the attention of his Sovereign Charles II; and so highly did this acute Monarch appreciate Sibbald's talents, that he imposed upon him the task of drawing up a general description of the whole kingdom, and a particular history of the different Counties or Shires of Scotland. Charles also conferred upon Dr. Sibbald the honour of knighthood, and moreover nominated him King's Physician, Royal Geographer, and Natural Historian.

"Sir Robert Sibbald was one of the original Fellows of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh; and the first medical Professor to whom a Medical Chair was allotted in that University. He was installed Professor of Medicine about the year 1695. He was unquestionably a man of respectable talents, and of considerable and multifarious erudition. To the literary acquisitions connected with his profession, he added no superficial knowledge of the sciences of Antiquities and of Natural History. He more particularly studied with diligence and success the Antiquities of his native country, which have received no inconsiderable degree of illustrations from his various learned performances. Among the objects of his particular investigations was the history of Scotland during the time of the Romans, and his researches have thrown much light on the situation of the country in that remote and dark period.

"He published in 1684 his principal work, *Scotia Illustrata sive Prodromus Historiae Naturalis in quo Regionis natura, Incolarum Ingenia et Mores, Morbi iisque medendi Methodus, et Medicina Indigena accurrate explicantur: et Multiplices Naturae Partus in triplice ejus Regno, Vegetabili scilicet, Animali, et Minerali . . . exponuntur*: folio: Another edition appeared in 1696 folio.

"Of this elaborate work, which as he informs us occupied him during twenty years, one part is appropriated to the investigation of the indigenous plants of Scotland, and contains various remarks on their economical uses and on their officinal virtues. A few rare species make their first appearance in the *Scotia Illustrata*; among others the Sibbaldia [Sibbaldia procumbens L. = Potentilla Sibbaldi Hall. f.], a plant of the Class Pentandria thus designated by Linnaeus in honour of the author, and the Ligusticum Scoticum.

"The 'Prodromus' met with a favourable reception from the learned, and the public in general recognised its merit. The following testimonies evince the degree of estimation in which it was held by the most competent judges. 'In the "Prodromus" the Author has shewn himself worthy of what he enjoys in being the King's geographer

and physician there, but in this he acts chiefly as the latter . . . [His qualifications] altogether make us impatiently expect the Atlas itself, the Prodromus of which is so satisfactory, that it seems to have prevented it.' Sir Robert Sibbald has given us a much more ample testimony of his intimate acquaintance with the natural products of his own Country, in the famous work which he has published on that subject, whereof I shall not pretend to say more than that it fully answers its title, *Scotia Illustrata sive Prodromus Historiae Naturalis*. The foreign literary journals of that period spoke of the *Prodromus* in terms equally respectful.

"Sir Robert Sibbald, having been suspected of being the author of a tract entitled *Apollo Mathematicus*, which contained some pointed sarcasms [sic] against the reasonings and principles of the mathematical physicians incurred the displeasure of his learned colleague Dr. Pitcairne, who being a strenuous supporter of the dogmata maintained by this class of his brethren, was highly offended by Sibbald's imagined attempt to expose them to derision and in revenge wrote a severe satire against the *Scotia Illustrata*, entitled *De Legibus Historiae Naturalis*, Edinburgh, 1696. But it contains no solid objection to Dr. Sibbald's work, and was even at the time regarded, as the offspring of party rancour, if not of personal dislike.

"Dr. Sibbald extended his investigations into the animal kingdom, and appears to have paid particular attention to the Natural History of the *Ceta*. In 1692 he published his *Phalainologia nova* or Observations on certain Animals of the Whale Genus lately thrown on the Shores of Scotland. This tract was also well received; nor is it yet undeserving of the Zoologist's attention, even in the present advanced state of this science. It is now indeed, I believe rarely inspected, although its merits entitled it to a republication so late as in the year 1773. Sir Robert seems to have formed the resolution of adding a second volume to his 'Prodromus' in which he proposed to include a complete *Cetologia* [see also 32], and a history of all the marine animals which frequent the coasts of Scotland. But this task he never executed. In the same year he published an Advertisement anent the Ziphias, or Sword-fish exposed at Edinburgh.

"In the year 1706 he communicated to the Royal Society of London, an accurate description of the *Balanus Balanae*, or *Pediculus Ceti* of Bocconi, illustrated by a figure of the animal in its shell. This curious animal, previously a nondescript in Britain, is the *Lepas Diadema* of Linnaeus Syst. Nat. 1108. This communication was inserted in Vol. XXV. of the Philosophical Transactions, p. 2314 (32).

"In the *Miscellanea quaedam eruditiae Antiquitatis*, . . . &c., published by Sir Robert Sibbald in 1710 we find a very masterly dissertation on the *Chara* of Caesar, mentioned also by Dio Cassius, on which the soldiers in Valerius's army, when destituted of every other

kind of provisions, were for some time chiefly supported. Some have endeavoured to identify this root with the Karemile, Carmele, or, as Lightfoot terms it the Corr, or Cor-meille of the Highlanders. It is now ascertained to be the Orobus tuberosus Linnaei [*Lathyrus montanus* Bernh.], vulgarly denominated Wood Pease.

" In the History of the Sheriffdom of Fife and Kinross, one of our Author's most valuable performances published in the same year with the *Miscellanea*, and lately reprinted under the care of the Reverend Lawrence Adamson of Couper in Fife, with some valuable Notes and Illustrations, Dr. Sibbald inserted a Catalogue of plants chiefly maritime habitating about the Firth of Forth, to one of which he had given the name of *Balfouriana*, as a mark of attachment to his friend Sir Andrew Balfour; But Sir Andrew's memory is no longer honoured with this tribute of respect from his learned contemporary as Linnaeus has arranged the plant in the *Pentandria* Class of his system, and given it the name of *Pulmonaria Maritima* [*Mertensia maritima* Don.].

" Sir Robert Sibbald died at Edinburgh in 1715, at an advanced period of life. [See page 5.]

" Although Sir Robert Sibbald's researches into Natural History were certainly too superficial and limited to entitle him to the character of a master in that difficult and extensive science, it must nevertheless be admitted, that he was instrumental in smoothing the way for future inquirers, and consequently in accelerating their progress. It must also be recorded to his honour, that he was very active and very successful in promoting the study of the antiquities of his country, a department of knowledge, which at that period was in its infancy; and that many of his works exhibit profound researches into former ages, extensive observation, and judicious inquiries into the actual state of Scotland in his own times. With regard to the Roman Antiquities of Scotland Sibbald's reasonings are in some measure conjectural and his conclusions erroneous; and, as frequently happens, his mistakes were implicitly adopted by subsequent writers, and remained unsuspected till that profound scholar and most learned Antiquary the late General Roy discovered and removed them. The style of our Author is far inferior to his matter. Both in his Latin and English works, his language is inelegant and his mode of expression unusually embarrassed, considering the eminence of his literary character. His works appear to have been hastily composed, and he was in general more anxious to investigate facts, and to record them with impartiality, than studious to adorn his narrative with purity of diction or with the graces of oratory.

" His History of Fife, as has been already observed, ranks among the most valuable of his numerous performances. Local circumstances naturally attached him to this subject, and he has evidently exerted

no ordinary share of assiduity in the prosecution of his inquiries. He appears to have carefully examined every historical document, to which he could have recourse, whether printed or in manuscript, that might confirm his statements, or elucidate any branch of his work. He has incorporated with his narrative a profusion of Latin quotations, which disfigure his pages, and sometimes embarrass his reader ; but which may nevertheless be regarded as satisfactory evidence of his fidelity. When in the progress of his historic details, he reached his own times, his personal knowledge of the scenes which he investigates, and his opportunities of communicating with his numerous friends and relatives, who from local residence, could impart him every information, and the exact coincidence of his description of such objects as have resisted the depredations of time, with the appearances which they still exhibit, establish his general accuracy beyond question. And upon the whole, his diligence and his acquirements entitled Sir Robert Sibbald to be ranked among the most eminent of his literary contemporaries in Scotland." (80)

It is interesting to observe that the author of the preceding account, whoever he may have been, was quite unaware of Sir Robert Sibbald's Autobiography (82), although a manuscript copy must have been in the Advocates' Library (now the National Library of Scotland), prior to 1800. This explains the biographer's omission of any reference to Sibbald's responsibility for the embryo Botanic Garden. There is an error also with regard to the date of his death.

Regarding the disagreement between Sibbald and Dr. Archibald Pitcairne to which our author has alluded, a further note of some botanical interest may be added. In the course of the feud Pitcairne vented his contempt of Sibbald in a satire in verse entitled "In D. Robertum Sibbaldum de Cyphiis M.D. Equitem auratum." He mentions particularly a Briar Rose which Sir Robert had found near Kipps and dignifies in his *Prodromus* with the title *Rosa Ciphiana*. Sibbald wrote a Latin ode upon the plant (40), and this seemed especially to have annoyed Pitcairne who replies :—

"Dum tot inculti, queis horret Scotia, montes
Exiles fundunt squalidulasque rosas." (80)

Pitcairne accused Sibbald of claiming to have first discovered a rose already described by Bauhin. Sibbald, refuting this criticism in his *Vindiciae* (41), sums up his arguments as follows :

"Nunc videndum quid *Johannes Bauhinus* ubi de Rosis agit, afferat pro animadversore. Rosa, inquit, quam Author *Prodromi* describit quasi a se primum detectam (impudentissime diabole, ubi asserit hoc ?) quae *Joanni Bauhino* rosa est pumila, spinosissima, foliis pimpinellae glabris, flore rubro, &c.

"Animadversor unam facit rosam quae *J. Bauhino* diversis capitibus tractatur utpote prima rosa pumila spinosissima, foliis pimpinellae,

glabris, flore albo. Altera est Rosa spinosissima pumila flore rubro. At neutra ex his nostra est ut ex *J. Bauhini* textu patebit."

The plant in question is figured in *Scotia Illustrata*, and is one of the forms of *Rosa spinosissima* L., with variegated flowers, recently recognised by Druce as a distinct variety (13a, 29).

Resuming our account of Sir Robert Sibbald's part in the foundation of the Edinburgh Royal Botanic Garden, and of the motives which led him to take action, we find that on returning to Edinburgh in 1661 he was very soon impressed with the deplorable state of medical science in Scotland (26) and with the ignorance of the local chirurgeons and apothecaries. He found the city overrun with quacks and mountebanks, and although in Sibbald's own works we find no actual description of their methods, there is a striking instance of the current state of affairs in the records of the Privy Council for June, 1663. We are there informed that a person named Johanes Michael, Philophysician, who stated that His Majesty had allowed him to practise his profession in England, now entreated the Privy Council to allow him the same liberty in the Kingdom of Scotland. Permission was given him to erect his stage in the city of Edinburgh, but the Council also appointed the petition "to be intimated to and answered by the Master of Revells," against their next meeting; and in the meantime "discharged the physician to practise rope dancing"! (73). Further, we may remember that no *Pharmacopæia* had been published and accordingly there were no standard drugs; those sold in shops were of poor quality and often ineffective. Thus in order that the Apothecaries might be able to learn something of the products which they sold and at the same time with a view to providing his colleagues with reliable supplies of drugs, Sibbald began to study indigenous plants. His investigations led naturally to the making of a garden for the cultivation of medicinal herbs, and it will soon be evident that, although he advocated the use of indigenous drugs, in practice he by no means confined himself to locally collected species.

About the year 1670 a *Physic Garden* was accordingly started upon a modest scale—first at Holyrood Palace and later at the Trinity Hospital—with plants already in cultivation in Sibbald's own garden at Kipps, in Balfour's private garden at Edinburgh, and in the garden of their friend Patrick Murray at Livingstone. The story of its inception, with James Sutherland's appointment to be the first "Intendant," is told in Sir Robert's *Autobiography*, and may be given in his own words:

"At first I made it my business, by my acquaintance with some of the Apothecaries and Chirurgions, to informe myself of the method of practice in use amongst the Physitians here, and gott the coppie of the courses of Physick they appointed in most diseases, and of the receipts most in use amongst them. When there was occasion for

it, I caused consult them ; and caried with a great deal of deference and respect to them. . . . Some four yeers after I settled here, Doctor Andrew Balfour came home, and about a yeer therafter [c. 1667] came to Edinburgh. I was acquainted with him in France, and we were allied. He was a man of ane excellent witt, and who had improved himself by his travells for fourteen yeers. He had severall tymes travelled over France, and had been a yeer in Italy, and seen all the rarities yr, and conversed with the men eminent for learning. He had attained much knowledge of the naturall history, and provided himself well with books of yt nature. I came by conversation with him to know the best writters on that subject. I had from my settlement here, a designe to informe myself of the subjects of the naturall history this country could affoord, for I had learned at Paris that the simplest method of Physick was the best, and these that the country affoorded came neerest to our temper, and agreed best with us. . . .

" I had become acquaint with Patrick Morray, Laird of Levingstone, by meanes of Mr. John Elies, my comrade, who maried his sister, and had information of him what plants might be gotten in the fields ; and I frequently went to Leviston, wher he had collected of plants that grew in the country and foreigne ones neer to a thousand. I made Dr. Balfour his acquaintance with Levistone, which, upon Levistone's going abroad and corresponding with the Doctor, gave the rise to the designe of establishing the medicine garden at Edr. Doctor Balfour and I first resolved upon it, and obtained of John Brown, gardner of the North yardes in the Abby, ane inclosure of some 40 foot of measure every way. We had, by this tyme, become acquaint with Master James Sutherland, a youth, who, by his owne industry, had attained great knowledge of the plants and of medals, and he undertook the charge of the culture of it. By what we procured from Leviston and other gardens, and brought in from the Country, we made a collection of eight or nyne hundred plants yr. We got several of the Physitians in Town to concur in the designe, and to contribute so much a yeer for the charge of the culture and importation of foreigne plants. Some of the Chirurgeon Apothecaries, who then had much power in the town, opposed us, dreading that it might usher in a Coledige of Physitians, but, by the care and dexterity of Doctor Balfour, these were made friends to the designe, and assisted us in obtaining of the Counsell of Edinburgh ane leases to Mr. James Sutherland, for nyneen years, of the garden belonging to Trinity Hospitall, and adjacent to it. And Doctor Balfour and I, with some others, were appointed by the Town Counsell visitors of the garden. After this, we applied ourselves with much care to embellish the fabrick of the garden, and import plants from all places into this garden, and procured that severall of the nobility concurred in contributing for some yeers, for the incouradgement of Mr. Sutherland ;

some gyfts lykewise were obtained of mony from the Exchequer, and the Lords of Session and Faculty of Advocates, for yt use ; and by Dr. Balfour's procurement, considerable pacquets of seeds and plants were yearly sent hither from abroad, and the students of medicine got directions to send ym from all places they travelled to, wher they might be had, by which means the garden increased considerably every yeer . . ." (82)

Another of Sibbald's publications, entitled *Memoria Balfouriana* (38), is a biography written in Latin to commemorate Sir Andrew Balfour and his brother Sir James. It was published in Edinburgh in 1699. Sibbald there (p. 68) repeats his description of the beginnings of the physic garden, but in less detail, and without adding to the account already given.

The Barony of Livingstone which Sibbald mentions as having supplied many of the plants in the original collection is situated near Bathgate, some twenty miles west of Edinburgh, and concerning Patrick Murray who was responsible for that notable collection, the New Statistical Account of Scotland, gives the following information :

" Patrick Murray, Baron of Livingstone, well deserves to have his memory recorded. Living about the middle of the seventeenth century, this young nobleman, in possession of an ample fortune, turned his attention to the study of natural history, and, not contented with forming at his own country-seat a botanic garden consisting of one thousand species of plants, a great collection in those infant days of the science, he traversed foreign countries with a view to increase it. Having gone over the whole of France, he was, on his way to Italy, cut off by a fever, much to the prejudice of natural history in Scotland, and deeply regretted by those friends who could estimate the worth of character displayed by a youth, who, in the uncontrolled possession of an abundant fortune, could steadily devote himself to a praiseworthy pursuit. Patrick Murray had been the friend and pupil of Sir Andrew Balfour, who, after his death, had his plants transported to Edinburgh, where, joining them to his own, Sir Andrew laid the foundation of the first botanic garden in that city." (36)

James Sutherland.

1638 ?—1719.

Of the early years of James Sutherland, the first Keeper of the Garden, little is known. (8) He must have been born about the year 1638, or perhaps a year or two earlier, and it has been suggested that he may have been a native of Sutherlandshire. At an early age he had distinguished himself by his knowledge of plants (38), and it is known that even from his youth he was a keen collector of medals and of coins. The plot at Holyrood where Sutherland first took charge

was situated to the south of the Abbey on ground known as St. Ann's Yards, which was usually let to market gardeners by the Hereditary Keeper of Holyrood House. Sutherland himself tells us that the Town Council officially appointed him "Intendant" of the Physic Garden in 1676. (43) It has usually been assumed that it was in this year that a transfer was made from Holyrood to the Trinity Hospital garden, but the record of the Town Council, quoted below (and only recently discovered), shows that Sutherland obtained a lease of this garden a year earlier, viz., on the 7th July, 1675. (47) In 1676 the Town Council formally granted to him a yearly salary of twenty pounds and his profession was "joined with to" the other professions taught in the Town's College. (48) What status this gave him on the College staff we do not know. As "Intendant" of the Garden he was expected to teach Botany, but he does not seem to have assumed the title of Professor until a later date. The following minute of 1676 (48) probably ought not to be taken as showing his election to a Chair of Botany, for, as Walker points out (45), had Sutherland been professor by 1683 he would have certainly mentioned this office in his "*Hortus Medicus Edinburgensis.*" (43) As a further argument for thus interpreting the minute of 1676, we have the later record of 1st February, 1695 (58), which is quite definite about the professorship, and would be redundant had the election been previously made. On the other hand, if it was intended to make the appointment in 1676 at least it was not formally confirmed until 1695. The important documents which have been discussed in the foregoing paragraphs are quoted below and on pages 27 and 28.

" Edinburgh. The seaventh day of Jully, 1675.—The Councill Agrees to Sett Intack to Mr. James Sutherland herbalist the yairds and gairdiners hous pertaining to the trinitie Hospital for nyntene years upon the conditions of the former Sett to the last taxman John Craig and upon the condition that he shall menteine the roof of the gairdiners hous and dyks of ye yeard dureing the space of the tack And that the Mrs of the hospitall shall have access to ye yairds to walk in." (47)

" 1676, September 8th.—The same day the Councill considereing the usefulnes and necessitie of Incurradgement of ye airt of botanie and planting of medecinalls herbs and that it were fitt for the better florishing of the colledge yt yesd profession be joyned with to the oyr professions which are publiclie taught yrin And in regard that It is much desyred be sevrlies of the nobilitie, gentrie and phisitanes and chirurgeones yt yesd profession receive all deu incurradgement from them, therfor the Councill ordaines and apoynts ane yearlie sellarie of twentie pound sterlinc to be peyed to Mr. James Sutherland, present botomist, who professes the said art to be peyed be the

theseuore of the Colledge begining the first termes peymant at Candlemes next to come And upon ye consideraciones foresaid unitts, annexes and adjoynes the said profession to the rest of the Liberall Schiences taught in the sd Colledge And recomends to the thessr of the Colledge to provyd a conveenient roome in the Colledge for keepeing books and seeds relatting to the said profession whereanent yr presents shall be a warrand." (48)

A later excerpt, dated 5th January, 1677, shows Sutherland continued in his appointment and Balfour and Sibbald formally elected official visitors to the Physic Garden at Trinity Hospital.

" 1677, January 5th.—The same day the Councill taking unto there consideration the Lawdable and profitable designe of a phisicall Gardin within this Citie hes in order to that end pitched upon Mr. James Southerland, a person of knownen abilitie for overseing the culture and for demonstratting of the plants in the said gardin which is now esteblished in the gardin belonging to the Trinitie Hospitall granted in tack be the Councill to the said Mr. James and considereing that this designe will not onlie contribut to the good and ornament of the Citie but also prove exceedinglie profitable for the instruction of youth in that most necessary though hitherto much neglected paire of the naturall historie and knowledge wherein the health of all personnes whether it be for food or medecine is so nearlie concerned Therefore the Councill that they may not be wanting to encouradge so good and necessarie a work ordaines and appoynts a yearlie pension of twentie pound sterling money to be peyed to the sd Mr. James Sutherland and his successores in the said Office to be peyed at two termes in the year viz :—Martimes and Whitsunday and in regard that the historie of plants is a part of the naturall historie and may be mainlie usefull and for the Instructione of youth in the colledge in Naturall Philosophy therfore the councill appoynts the Colledge thessr and his successors in office to pay the said twentie pound sterling as said is beginand the first termes payment at mertimes last in the year of god Jm. vjc. and seventie sex yeares and recomends to the said thessr to provyd a convenient roome in the Colledge for the better keepeing and preseruing of such books, Seeds -c. as are necessarie and the key therof to be kept be the sd Mr. James Sutherland and his successores in office and to the effect the said designe may be made effectuall to the purpose forsaid the Councill ordaines that there shall be choissen from tyme to tyme some personnes who are to take Inspections and oversight of the said gardin that it be kept in good order and that the said Mr. James Sutherland and his successors be caifull and diligent in bringing in and Cultivatting the plants in dew maner and that thesd personnes nominat be the Councill may make frequent reports of the condition of thesd gairden and

for that effect appoynts William Binning present Lord Provost, John Boyd bailie, Francis Kinloch dean of gild, William Hamilton and William Borthwick together with Mr. Archibald Stevinsone, Mr. Andrew Balfour and Mr. Robert Sibbald, doctors of medecine to be visitors of thesd gairden to the effect forsaid and which persones are herby declared to continow visitors ay and whill they be expresly discharged by ane act of Councill and who are frequentlie to meet together at such tymes as they shall agre upon for the purposes forsd wheranent thir presents shall be a warrand." (49)

Few records have been preserved for us covering the period of the next few years, but it is evident that under the able management of James Sutherland great progress was made. Sutherland was not only an expert gardener and an accomplished Latin scholar, but as Sibbald informs us, "a most learned botanist" and "a capable man of business (which later fact commended him to Balfour in no small degree)." (38) He made it his business to collect not only plants native to Scotland, but also many from foreign countries so that the Edinburgh Garden, with about two thousand different plants, soon became "famous throughout all Europe." (33) Sutherland travelled widely in Scotland, and had correspondents in almost every European country and in the East and West Indies, with whom he exchanged seeds and plants. When his students qualified he kept in touch with them, especially with those who upon leaving the University decided to travel abroad, and in this manner he obtained considerable quantities of seed. At this period of Scotland's history it was a not uncommon custom for young doctors to begin their career by serving as ship's surgeon and so to travel for some years before settling down to a permanent practice. Nicolson remarks : "The great Variety of Seeds and Plants, which his [Sutherland's] Correspondents abroad have furnished him with, have mightily encreased his Foreign Stock ; and his late Personal View and Examination of the Shores and Mountains of *Anandale*, *Niddisdale*, &c., have amply discovered to him the Riches of his own Country : So that we have sufficient Encouragement to hope that he will shortly oblige us with a new Prospect of one of the best furnished Gardens in Europe." (30)

Writing, apparently about 1682, Sir Robert Sibbald described the Garden in his *Scotia Illustrata*, a work which was published in 1684. He devotes a short chapter to the Physic Garden at Trinity Hospital. Instead of a quotation from the original, which is in Latin, here a translation is given:

The Medical Garden [he says] is situated to the North-east of the city of Edinburgh. To the west of it is the so-called North Loch, which is there terminated by a wall and a mound. The loch, restrained

by this barrier, empties its waters, on occasion, through a subterranean channel constructed of hewn stone and, like a waterfall, into another somewhat lower channel which, also artificially constructed of stone, carries the water quietly through the middle of the garden for its whole length. To the south the garden has the city wall, on the east Trinity Hospital, on the north there is the pleasure garden which adjoins the Collegiate Church. It is everywhere enclosed by a wall and is separated by a reasonable interval from both public and private buildings. The length of the Garden from east to west is about 300 feet, its breadth from south to north is 190 feet.

The Garden is divided into six rectangular plots, three on each side of the canal, half on the south side, half on the north side. Each plot has its distinct beds with footpaths between them. There are several paths on each side of the canal which runs through the Garden and others surround the Garden just inside the walls, and these are extended next to the walls at the boundary of the Garden.

In the first and second plots (which lie towards the north and are separated from each other by a hedge) all the plants are arranged in beds according to their order in the *Pinax* of Caspar Bauhin and are very accurately divided, in accordance with the genera and species, into their proper classes. These two plots are separated from the third, which lies to the north of them, by a privet hedge. This same third plot is a flower garden in which flowers and the more showy plants are arranged in beds.

These three plots with their paths form the northern part of the Garden, which slopes gently from the wall on the north down to the channel in the middle of the Garden. It has an excellent southerly exposure. The other half of the Garden, extending southwards from the channel, is more shaded on account of the ground being flatter and the height of the city wall. In it there are also three plots with beds, walks and paths. In the fourth plot, lying to the north near a well, is situated a place of instruction for medical students in which plants used in medicine are arranged in beds in alphabetical order as in Dispensatories.

The fifth plot, next to the preceding on the west, contains a pond where aquatic plants are grown and also a nursery in which certain of the more useful plants are grown and propagated for transplanting. A privet hedge divides the sixth and last plot from the fifth plot. The sixth, to the north-west, is an Arboretum in which shrubs and trees of every kind, whether fruit bearing or not, are neatly arranged. Along the enclosing walls the longest beds are to be found in which some of the rarer plants are grown under protection from the injurious effects of the climate by bell-shaped glasses and small frames. Moreover the walls also are everywhere covered with very beautiful shrubs. Roses of every kind are planted in beds at the side of the canal and

also shrubs remarkable for their fragrant flowers. It has three entrances or gates, one on the west and two on the east, through which there is access from the various quarters of the city.

There are in the garden not only quite a number of plants indigenous to this country, but also plants from both hemispheres, especially those which have been distributed through all countries, for the cure of sickness and disease; here almost all of these have been gathered together and grow quite well. The total number of all the plants is approximately two thousand, of which, the worthy keeper of the Garden, James Sutherland, Master of Arts and student of medicine, will shortly issue a catalogue. (40)

In 1683 Sutherland published his "Hortus Medicus Edinburgensis, or a Catalogue of all the Plants in the Physic Garden at Edinburgh." (43) In the compilation of this work Sutherland was no doubt aided by Sir Robert Sibbald, who had himself prepared a list of indigenous and exotic medicinal and economic plants in cultivation. Sibbald's list was published in 1684, (40) a year later than Sutherland's catalogue but Sibbald's text seems to have been written earlier, for he mentions, as we have noted, the catalogue shortly to be issued by James Sutherland.

Sutherland's "Hortus Medicus Edinburgensis" most fortunately preserves for us an accurate and detailed list of the plants grown in this seventeenth-century garden, and thus supplements the account already given. As the first aim of the Physic Garden was to promote the study of medicine we find included in the catalogue most of the herbs in common use by the physicians of the day, and, coming more or less into the same category, there were many of the fruits and vegetables now universally appreciated, but seldom grown in the seventeenth century. The botanical section where plants were arranged by families and genera was another important feature of the garden, and it is also interesting to note than Sutherland tells us that the plants were arranged according to Dr. Morison's classification of genera and species. This statement is, however, at variance with that of Sir Robert Sibbald who informs us that Bauhin's classification was being followed (page 17). Later the system seems again to have been changed more than once for Preston in 1697 tells us that the plants are being disposed according to Dr. Herman's *Flora Battava* (page 51), while Sutherland in 1700 states that he has adopted the classification in Ray's *Stirpium Britannicum* (pages 37 and 38).

Aiton in the first edition of the "Hortus Kewensis" published in 1789, credits Sutherland with the introduction of twelve species new to Great Britain (1, 25). The number of plants which he raised for the first time in Scotland must be very much greater and includes the common Larch which he had in his garden before 1683.

Sutherland explains in his preface to the Catalogue his reason for publishing it: "that I might thereby let the World know what Plants I could furnish to others, who are curious in this so useful a part of natural Philosophie, and what I could not; that so all who apply themselves to promote Natural History with me, might be encouraged to assist me in so good a designe, by making interchange of Plants, which they can spare and I want, with others which They want and I can spare." (43)

The Catalogue was dedicated to the Right Honorable George Drummond of Miln-Nab, Lord Provost of Edinburgh, and in "The Epistle Dedicatory" Sutherland gives us an excellent resumé of the work done during the seven preceding years. It deserves to be quoted in full and we can only regret that he refrained from troubling his lordship with "any tedious account of the garden itself."

"**MY LORD,**

"The Physical Garden in this Place being Established and Entertained by the Munificence of this Honourable and Ancient City, it is necessary the Catalogue thereof, appearing now in Publik, should be Sheltered under the Protection of your auspicious Name. I come therefore in the Croud with others of all Ranks and Qualities in this City, to rejoice at your Promotion, from whom all good men may justly expect all good Things; neither is this opinion founded only upon the past Experience of your Demeanour in the former Dignities and Offices of Majistracy which you have so worthily born in this City; but more especially upon the certain Knowledge which every one hath of your natural generosity and Love to Justice, as well in the Rewarding and Encouraging of Virtue, as in the Discouraging and Punishing of Vice; Qualities, which with your Blood you derive (as well as your Piety to God, and Loyalty to the King) from one of the Noblest Families of this Kingdom.

My Lord, I shall not here trouble you with any tedious Account of the Garden itself, it will sufficiently appear to your Lordship, and to all the World, by this Catalogue how well it is instructed; and I dare boldly say, comparing it with the Catalogues of other Gardens abroad, it runs up with most of them, either for Number, or Rarity of Plants: it having been my Bussiness these seven years past, wherein I have had the Honour to serve the City as Intendant over the Garden, to use all Care and Industry by forraign Correspondence to Acquire both Seeds and Plants from the Levant, Italy, Spain, France, Holland, England, east and west Indies; and by many painful Journeys in all the Seasons of the year, to recover whatever the Kingdom produceth of Variety, and to cultivate and preserve all of them with all possible Diligence. And of the truth of this, I hope these worthy Gentlemen who were named Overseers to the Garden, will bear me Witness. Neither do I need here to trouble

your Lordship with a rehearsal of the Advantages that from this Design accrues to the Whole Nation, and more especially to this Place, besides the Ornament thereof ; for now it plainly appears that many of these *Simples* that were wanting here, and therefore yearly brought from abroad, because of their Usefulness in Physick, may now by Industry and Culture be had in plenty at home. And it is evident that the Apothecaries Apprentices could never be competently instructed in the Knowledge of Simples (which necessarily they ought to be) before the Establishing of this Garden ; for now they may learn more in one Summer, than formerly it was possible for them to do in an Age. And to make the thing easier for Beginners, I have Planted in One corner of the Garden, the Dispensatory Plants in an alphabetical Order. And for those whose Curiosity and Time gives them further desire of learning Botanie, I have disposed the whole Plants according to the most natural and rational Method, and according to the best and latest Authors of Botanie, and particularly our most Learned and incomparable countreyman Doctor Morison, by their *Genera* and *Species* ; by means whereof, they come not only more easily to be known, but also much better retained in Memory. I have given the English names as well as the Latin, that the Catalogue might be the more useful to all Persons ; and especially those that are unskilful in the Latin. And now, My Lord, such as it is, I in all my humble Duty, Dedicate and Offer it to your Lordship beseeching you to look upon it with your accustomed Candor and Goodness, and vouchsafe to Countenance the Garden, and take it into your Protection, which certainly will make it flourish more and more. And here I humbly beg leave to assure your Lordship, that as I shall ever be ready in my Station to serve your Lordship and the good Town with all Fidelity ; so I shall never cease to pray for the Honour and Prosperity of Both : humbly kissing your Lordships Hands, and craving leave to remain in all Duty,

My Lord,

Your Lordships most humble and most obedient Servant,

Edinburgh,
Octob. 10, 1683.

JAMES SUTHERLAND." (43)

To quote further from the catalogue itself would serve no useful purpose. It is obvious that in the course of a few years great progress had been made and a perusal of the actual list of plants amply bears out Sutherland's statements. His claims are modest and the greater credit is due to him in that, until this date, the total income of the Garden was little more than the twenty pounds represented by his own meagre salary. Sutherland in a subsequent petition (81) explains how the greater part of this money was expended upon wages, correspondence, upkeep and in the exchange of plants. Through the

publication of the catalogue the Garden became well-known throughout Europe, and this must also have served the useful purpose of bringing the importance of Sutherland's work to the notice of people in Edinburgh. Additional funds were from time to time put at his disposal although no regular income seems to have been arranged.

The next five excerpts, which I have taken in chronological order, relate to grants of money made from time to time. Their miscellaneous character suggests that Sutherland had no easy task in raising sufficient funds for the proper upkeep of the Physic Garden.

" 1684, May 14.—The same day the Counsell considering that there is a necessity that the phyeſick gaſtren ſett in tack to Mr James Sutherland, herbifter for fourtie pund Scots money muſt be inlairged and that there is ſevrill perſones of quality upon the account of the phisihians heſ interpoſed with the magiſtrats for inlagement therof By taking in the colledge kirk yeard thereto In ſo far as may be extended as to the breidh and lenth thereof Be north the Easter cunzie of the North Dyke of the ſaid physick gaſtren Northward to the North dyke of the ſd kirk yeard and Westward to yon westard Dyke of the ſd Kirk yeard to which they condescended And that by the ſaid condescendance there is a neceſſity that the wester entrie to the colledge kirk be built up and ane entrie in leu therof made in the East end of the ſouth dyke of the ſaid phisick gaſtren In be the East ſyde of the well pertineining to the Hospetall in That Little yeard be east the ſd physick gaſtren, And conſidering that the paſhioners upon the north ſyde of the ſtreet and others reſorting to the ſd kirk may more conveniently enter yrby then by the former entrie Therfore they appoynt the ſd former Entrie to be altered and put upon the East end of the South Dyke of the ſaid physick gaſtren In maner foresd And appoynts the ſaid gaſtren to be inlairged in maner above ment And appoynts the calſay ſtones of the old Entrie to be raised from the wester Dyke of the Kirk yeard to the wester gavell of the ſaid Kirk And ane new calſay layed therewith Betwixt the port at Hackerſtoun Wynd foot and the forſd new Entrie to ye Kirk appoynted to be ſtricken out in maner forſd and appoynts Mr. James Sutherland taxksman to pay the former deuty that was payable for the ſd Kirk yeard." (51)

" Edinburgh, 24 October, 1684.—The same day the Counsell Appoynts the old theſaurer to pay to Mr. James Sutherland for printing a book of the quality of herbs and ther ſevrel virtutes composed be ye ſd Mr. James Sutherland and dedicaſe to ye Lord Provost Baillies ane Counſell the ſoume of Twenty pound Sterling money wheranent thir presents ſhall be a warrant." (52)

" Edinburgh, 23 December, 1685.—The same day the petition given in be James Law Shipper in North Leith bearing that ther is

dew to him be the good toun two hundred and fourtie eight pound seven shilling six pennies Scots money for herbs furnished to the good toun within these two years and planted in the grayfriars Kirk-yard and for flowers furnished to phisick Gairden which he brought from Rotterdamne. Conforme to ane question that although produced wheroft he hes received no payment . . ." (54)

The payment is sanctioned in a subsequent paragraph.

" 6 Martig, 1687.—The Lords of Session meiting on their oun privat busines they draw a praecept on Mr James Hunter Treasurer to the Faculty of Advocats to pay 500 mks out of their stock to Mr. James Sutherland, Keeper of the Physick Garden in Edinburgh. The Physician Doctor Balfour procured this." (24)

To this there is the interesting and important postscript in the " Chronological Notes," " but it was stopt." (22)

The next entry in the Town Council Records, dated 5th August, 1687, " grants Liberty to Mr. James Sutherland, herbiester, to repair to London anent his affaires in relation to his improvement in his art And because he wants twentie pound sterl to fie for ordering the physick gairdin the year of the late Thessr John Drumond his office as Colledge Thessr The Councell appoints the pnt Colledge Thessr, John Murray, to pay to him the sd twentie pound Sterl." (55)

The progress of the Garden was not entirely, however, without a set-back. It may be mentioned that in 1684 Sir Robert Sibbald's house and " the chamber of Mr. James Sutherland . . . were burnt to the very vaults " (23, 74), but more important, " In the Spring of 1689, during the seige of the Castle, a woeful mishap befell him. For certain strategic reasons it had been thought necessary by Sir John Lanier and other Leaders to drain the North Loch, and, as the water thereof ran through the Botanic Gardens, as it had done of old through that of the (Trinity) Hospital, it came to pass that for several days the place was completely inundated, and when left dry was found to be covered with mud and the rubbish of the city drains, so that nearly all the delicate and costly plants collected by Balfour, by Sibbald, and by Sutherland, were destroyed; and it cost the latter and his assistants nearly a whole season to clear the ground." (18)

Sutherland petitioned the Lords of the Privy Council for a grant to make good the damage. The original petition does not seem to have been preserved, but its contents are recorded at length in the following decree. Sutherland explains his financial difficulties and succeeds in obtaining the grant which is promptly paid.

" Edinburgh the Seventh Day off Ffebry, 1693.—Anent the petition given in to the Lords of their Majesties Privy Council be Mr. James

Southerland, intendent of the Phisick Garden SHEWING that in Anno 1689 dureing the Seidge of the Castle It being judged expedient for facilitating the Seidge to drain the North Loch, which opens itself into a narrow Channell throu the garden The watter in the passing did so overflow that the greater part of the more tender and best plants were altogether lost, where by the petitioner was not only put to considerable expense in recruiting new ones But also in the mean tyme came short of the ordinarie benefit he gott by the Schollars And in regard the phisick Garden has no fond out of which Such damnadges might be repaired The petitioner is forced in this case to apply to the said Lords for redress In order wherunto the said Lords would be pleased to consider that he both formed the garden and has ever since bestowed his wholle tyme and care upon it, and yet with no greater encouradgement than a Sallerie of Twentie punds Sterling a year payed him by the toune of Edinburgh wheroft the greatest part goes for payment of the Garden rent and Servants fies and the Remander comes very farr Short of his own mantinance: So that for entertaineing of forringne Corrospondence and provision of the Garden The petitioner has ever been left to his own credit which ane all occasiones he hade Employed so far That he hath very much benefited the garden, which at this day for plenty and variety of Plants is inferior to non in Brittan So hath no less Impoverished himself and now that the petitioner is no longer able for want of due encouradgement to support the charge of the Garden it belongs to the said Lords not only to repair the damnadges above represented But also to take such a laudable work into their particular care and protectione for the future And therfore humbly craving the said Lords to take the promises to their consideration and to grant the petitioner such ane allowance as might not only compense the said Loss occasioned by the draining of the Loch But likewayes may prove in some measure a reward for his gone Services and encouradgement for the future ones towards the Garden As the petition bears The Lords of their Majesties Privy Councill having considered this petition given in to them be the above Mr. James Southerland with the report of a committee of their own number to whom the Same was remitted bearing that the Committee haveing heard witnessnes upon the matter of fact and taken Mr. Southerlands own Oath there upon as to his detriment and loss doe find that the wholl phisick Garden was not only under ane inundation for severall dayes, But Likewayes was so covered over with mudd Rubish and Stones That it was the work of many men for many dayes to clear it and put it in ane capacity for labouring againe But chiefly his loss consisted in having his Dilicat plants flowers and Shrubs for the most part Destroyed and Killed which he hade purchased with very great travell and expenses ane the assistance of many men And he declared upon his oath that be syde the dificultie in recovering them and his own great travell and

paines with the work of his Servants for a whole season So that they could work no other work That his reall expenses was above fiftie punds Sterling, And the Counsell Considering that this loss comes upon the petitioner by the public order and for the public Service Therefore They Recommend to the Lords Commissioners of their Majestys Thesaurie to cause payment be made to the said Mr. James Southerland of the said fiftie punds Sterling, And the said Committee haveing reported that they have under their consideration the great advantage that the toun of Edinburgh has by this physick garden And also the nation wherby not only the young phisisians appothecaries and Chirurgeons But also the nobility and gentry of the nation are taught the knowledge of the herbs And also multitude of Plants Shrubs and trees are Cultivated in this Garden which were never known in this natione before and more numerouse nor in any other garden in Brittain als weeble for the honor of the plaice as the advantadge of the people And in bringing it to this, Mr Southerland has ruined his private portion, The toun of Edinburgh and Colledge alloweing only twentie punds Sterling per annum for the Said Garden off which three pounds seventeen shilling is payed for the ground to the Hospitall besydes furnishing them with Kaill and herbs, towards ffifteen punds Sterling is bestowed on Servants and labouring of the yeards And for Ordinary furnishing of seeds yearly will be about Seven or Eight pounds Sterling besyde what is bestowed upon Curiosities and extraordinaries which some tymes will amount to ten or twelve pound a year for all which he hath no encouradgement but the gratification of some Schollars which will not amount to the half of the expenses So that certainly this physick Garden will faill unles Supported by the publick Therfore the said Lords of their Majestys privy Councill Doe herby Declair that they will allow the soume of ffiftie punds Sterling a year out of the fynes which shall be Imposed by the Councill from tyme to tyme as the same shall be Imposed to be payed to the sd Mr James Southerland wherof twentie five punds Sterling to be bestowed upon expenses of the Garden to be supervised be such as the Council shall appoint And twentie five punds Sterling to be additionall Sellarie to the sd Mr James, And the saide Lords Doe herby Recomend to the Comittee as formerly to speak with the sd Mr James Southerland anent his Medalls." (81)

" 14th March, 1693.—The Lords of Privy Council ordain 1,000 merks (part of a sum of 2,000 merks forfeited by the cautioners of Robert Dunbar, skipper in Leith) to be paid to Mr. James Sutherland master of the Physic Gardens, for making up the losses and damage sustained by him through the letting out the North Loch the time of the siege of the Castle of Edinburgh, above his garden." (75)

The next record which remains to us is again a petition for necessary repairs, long overdue, to the garden and gardener's house. But the

minute is perhaps of greatest interest to us as stating a precedent for an early morning medical class, no longer at the apprentices hour of 4 or 5 a.m., but now at 8 a.m., early enough perhaps, in the modest estimation of the modern student!

" 1693, July 15.—The same day anent ane petition given in be Mr, James Sutherland keeper of the phisicall garden Shewing yt albeit ever since his entry to the said garden and gardeneres house he had punctually payed ye rent due by him to the Thessr of the Trinity Hospitall yet never the lesse these two years bygone the garden house hade been altogether ruinous and for the most part useless wherby the petitioner wes very much damadged in so far yt in tyme of raine and stormy weather he nether had ane house for his gardner to dewll in nor a place for himself to retire to tho his constant attendance at ye garden was indispensablie requisite ye most part of the year party in the winter and Spring for defending and takeing caire of the more tender and foreigne plants and in the sumer for waiting upon his Schollars who are oblidged to come to the garden at four or fyve a'clock in the morning that they might be tymously back to open and attend on ther masters shops As likwayes the petitioner had now brought yt garden to a considerable pitch in so far yt for numbers and rareness of plants it is inferior to few gardens in Europe which he had for the most part done upon his owne charges and expense the sellery of twenty pund sterling which the good toune yearly allowed him being scarce able to paye the garden and house rents and ye gardener and oyr hyred persones fies besydes what might be allowed for his owne paines and mantinance and ye severall reparations he had made in ye sd garden namely the building on his owne proper charges ye chanell yt convoyes ye north loch throu the garden for which he payed fyfteen punds sterling to Andrew Shearer laite deacon of the measasons wt other lesser reparations he wold not now trouble the Counsell wt ye mentioning he was also just now encloseing a part of ye garden wt reid hedges which wt ye due working and repaireing of ye ground wold not stand him under seven or eight pounds sterling Craveing the Councell wold be pleased to appoyn特 a visitation of ye sd house and garden yt they might be more fully informed of the state and condition they were in yt they might tymously give order for repaireing ye house for accomodating himself and his servants as the petion bears. The Councell appoyn特 ane Committee of yr owne number to visit and report. In obedience wherunto the Committee having mett upon the place reported yt they fund the house altogether ruinous so that ther was ane absolute necessity of pnt repaire and also having visited the dyke of the garden they fond yt by reason of a current of water coming from ye new port it wold speedily undermyne it if not prevented in tyme and yt the Counsell wold appoyn特 the Thesr to repaire the said house and

garden dyks as the report under the hands of the Committee bears Which petition and report being considered be the Counsell they appoyn George Mitchell and Robert Inglis pnt masters of Thesrs of the trinitie hospitall to repaire the gardeners house and garden dyks at the sight and by the advyse of Bailie Ferguson Wheranent thir pnts shall be a warrand." (56)

About a year later we find Sutherland again hammering at the door of the Town Council and on this occasion his petition seems to have been more successful, at least, a definite sum is voted for the long postponed repairs.

" 1694, June 8th.—The same day upon ane petition given in be Mr James Sutherland master of the phisick garden shewing that although he hade punctually payed his rent for the house and Garden belonging to the trinity hospitall ever since his entry to the said house and garden and hes in his station been pretty serviceable to the good toun as may be evident to all yt considers yet these three years bygone the house has been ruinous and not habitable and the last sumer he did make applicaon to the Counsell who did passe ane act ordaineing the house to be built for accomodating himself and his gardner and ordaineing Thesaurer Ferguson and Deacon Stirling to see the act duely put in execution which was not yet like to be made effectuall craveing therfore ye Counsell to appoyn a visitation of the said house and garden who may consider and report the Conditione the house and garden is in as the petition bears. The Counsell there upon appoynted a Comittie of ther owne number to visit the forsaide house and garden and to report In obedience wherunto the said Comittie reported that they having gone to the phisicall garden and visited and considered the present state and condition therof as also the gardeners house belonging to the said garden They fund yt of laite Mr James Sutherland hadde made many considerable expensive improvements in the said garden and yt the gardeners house was entirely ruinous and yt it was ther opinion conforme to the former order of the Counsell there ought to be a convenient house made there for the said Mr James Sutherland and the gardners accomodation and yt it was convenient yt it shuld be built upon the old fundation and the north wall weill raised in stone work of fifteen foot from the ground the south syde wall raised sex foot higher in stone work then it is a present with a partition wall in each storrie and ane study in the uppermost storey for the said Mr James his accomodation with a ledder to ye garret with two chimneys in each storey and three windows in the lower storey and four in the uper storey the door and window cheicks all hewen stone with a stone staire in the outer syde which the Comittie perceived might be perfected in the mason, wright smith and glasse work for the soume of nyne hundrede merks entirely finished and keyes delyvired And also they fond that the water course

from the Mutrasahill by the north port doth not only undermyne the wall of the said garden but also spoyl and destroye the tender plants therof and were of opinion that the ground from the end of the casaye from the north port be casten so as the water course run in the midle and yt the same be cassayed and a vent opened above the clouse that runnes from the north loch upon which a small strong iron grate must be put And in respect that the said garden wes both a veniencie and orniment to the city and the kingdom that the same reparations ought to be done upon the touns expenses and that the rent yrof be payed as formerly to the Thesr. of the hospitall and that the same be in full of all pretensions that the hospitall can make against the toune upon the account of the new high wayes to the north port and Colledge kirk taken of the hospitals ground as the report under the hands of the Comittie bears Which report being read and considered by the Counsell They approve therof and appoyntes the forsd reparations to be made with all convenient diligence and grants warrand to George Warrander present toune Thesr to advance the said soume of nyne hundered merks to be delyvered to Baillie Cuningham to be disposed of for the said reparations by his advyce at his sight and recomends to him to see the same exactly done and to yt effect to enter in Contract with workmen for performeing of the said work for payment of the forsd soume and appoynts the Thesr to cause repaire the said water course in the termes of the report at the sight of the said Baillie Cuningham whereanent thir pnts shall be a warrend." (57)

The following excerpt from the minutes of the Town Council is important ; it records the appointment of James Sutherland as first Professor of Botany in the Town College, and mentions the Colleg Garden to which further reference will shortly be made. Although certain authors have taken the earlier excerpt of September, 1676, (48) as marking the foundation of the Chair of Botany, the evidence as Dr. Walker points out (45), seems to favour this later date. We have already discussed the question and the reader may form his own opinion from the original document which is quoted below.

" 1695, February 1st.—The same day the Counsell considering that Mr. James Sutherland, Master of the phisick Garden in Edinburgh hes been at great paines and expenses in bringing of forrayne plants and seeds and making several divisions hedges and improvements in the said Garden which hes proven so useful and beneficall to all personnes resorting to this City and parlyar to all the students of phisick Chirurgerie and for the instruction of youth in the most necessarie (though much neglected) part of ye naturall history and knowledge wherin the health of all persons whether it be for food or medicine is so nearly concerned and yt the said phisick Garden is in great reputation both in England and foraigne nations by the

great caire and knowledge of the said Mr. James, doe Therfore for encouragement of the said Mr. James to continue his diligence and attendance in keeping the said phisick Garden in good order and of his known abilities for overseeing the cultur and for demonstrating the plants yr in Elect nominat and Choyse the said Mr. James Sutherland to be professor of Bottanay in the Colledge of Edinburgh and allowes to him the former pension of twenty pounds starling yearly in use to be payed to him by the Colledge Thesr which is herby annexed to the said profession in all tyme herafter with full power to him to bruick and enjoye all emoliments and profitts and casualties belonging to the said office and to teach two dayes in the week in the said Colledge and to plant the Colledge Garden with herbs and plants and other necessaries and appoyns him to be Master of the said Garden and to oversee the samen kept in good order at the charges and expenses and to output and input gardeners and other servants therin for whom he shall be answerable and for the said Mr. James his futher encouragement in keeping the said phisick Garden in good order and for the great paines and expenses he hes been at in making the several divisions hedges and necessary improvements therin doe therfor appoyn Patrick Thomson present toun Theſr and his successors in Office to content and paye to the said Mr. James Sutherland the soume of ten punds Starling yearly of pension at two termes in the year Whitsunday and Mertimes be equall portions begining the first termes payment therof at the terme of Whitsunday next 1695 Years and therafter tearmly during the Counsell's pleasure And seeing by ane Act of the toun Counsell in favours of the said Mr. James Sutherland of the dait the first of September 1676 years ther are certain persons appoynted to be visitors of the said phisick Garden and to make report to the caise and condition therof Therfore They doe appoyn Robert Cheislie, pnt Lord Provost of Edinburgh Mr. Gilbert Rule principall of the Colledge, Mr. Harry Ferguson, merchant, burges of Edinburgh, Gideon Elliot pnt Deacon to the Chirurgions of Edinburgh Alexander Monteith, Chirurgion there together with Sir Thomas Burnet Sir Robert Sibald and Mr. David Dicksone, doctors of medicine to be visitors of the said phisick and Colledge Gardens and to take parlar inspection and oversight therof that they be kept in good order and that the said Mr. James Sutherland be careful and diligent in bringing in and cultivating the plants in due maner and to make frequent report of the caise and condition of the saids Gardens to the said Counsell of Edinburgh Wheranent thir pnts shall be a warrand." (58)

Concerning the College Garden which is mentioned in the above minute and of which Sutherland is appointed master at a salary of ten pounds per annum, it is necessary to observe that this garden was quite apart from the Physic Garden near Trinity Hospital with

which we have hitherto been dealing. It was a large open piece of ground which had belonged to the old Kirk-of-Field and which ran along the east side of the College, extending to join the grounds of Blackfriars. It is clearly shown in the plan of Edinburgh drawn by Gordon of Rothiemay in 1647 (16) and also in Edgar's map of 1742 (14) which is published in Maitland's History of Edinburgh. (28) Comparatively little information is available and its history is difficult to trace. Apparently it was intended as a pleasant place for "the magistrates and Councill, Ministers of the City and Masters of the College to resort to and walk in." Probably only part of the garden was used for medicinal herbs and in Edgar's Map it is distinctly marked "College Garden" and not "Physick Garden;" yet Sutherland apparently did his work well (see 62) and we know that before Edgar's time it had come to be known as one of the Physic Gardens. It went under the name of the "Physick Garden" until 1724 when it was again turned to other uses (69) and the records of the Town Council of 1738 talk of "the garden adjoining the College formerly called the physic garden." (70) Under Sutherland's supervision it was in charge of a gardener William Cleghorn (see 50, 59, 61, 63, 64) who appears again later in this narrative.

Maintaining the chronological sequence of the documents which remain to us, we must turn now to the Minutes of the Royal College of Surgeons. The Surgeons of Edinburgh were incorporated by the Magistrates of the city as early as the year 1505. New privileges were granted to them in the reign of King William III in 1695 and Sutherland lost no time in securing their protection and patronage by an act which was passed unanimously. In return he undertook the instruction of apprentices and to wait upon the Masters at a "solemn publick herbarizing in the fields." The act is as follows :

"ACT IN FAVOUR OF MR. JAMES SUTHERLAND, BOTANIST."

"The which day the Deacon Masters &c. being conveened &c. Anent the petition given in to them be Mr. James Sutherland Professor of Botany within this Cittie MAKING mention That with great labor and expenses he had brought the Botanick garden in order and furnished it with a great number of plants as could hardly been expected in any garden of this countrie and goes near to equal severall considerable Botanick gardens abroad: And besides has disposed you in the best methods for facilitating ye learning having planted the dispensatory plants first by themselves, after the order of the latine alphabet by such names as they usually prescribe you in the shops for instructing his scholars in the beginning, and has afterwards ranged and classed all the wyld plants in the Garden in to severall Tribes as they nearest resemble each other in flower and seed, so that at the first sight of a plant in its full perfection one

may easily know to what family it doth belong and under what GENUS it is to be planted: and has also planted all the pleasant flowers and given all the annual seeds in severall apartments by themselves, so that nothing is wanting in that Garden to make the study of Botany both pleasant and easie; All this being chieflie intended for the instruction of Apprentices, servants, and such others as have the libertie and priveledge of insight in the Shops And yr fore desire ye Calling would take the said Garden into their protection (Seeing what was done was for the great advantage both of the Masters and the benefits of all those under yr charge) and by yr Act to ordain all the Apprentices and Servants and others that have the libertie of ye Shops, immediately at entrie to their service to pay a Guinee or twenty three shillings sterl to ym ffor which the petitioner obleges him to own all the Masters of the said Incorporation as his patrons and to attend them in the Garden and demonstrat the plants whensoever they have inclination. And besides wait upon them at a solemn publick herbarizing in the fields four severall times every year and to teach their apprentices and servants and all concerned in yr Shops who have paid ye money, at such hours every day as the Masters shall think fitt to appoint from yr first entrie to yr service as long as the petitioner shall keep the said Botanick Garden as the said petition in its selfe more fully bears—WHICH PETITION being severall times read in presence of the said Calling and by them heard read seen and considered and takeing the same into yr serious consideration And finding that the knowledge of botany will tend very much not only to the advantage of the Masters but also to the benefits of all those under yr charge—AND THEREFORE the Deacon Masters and Brethren of the said Incorporation all unanimously Grant the desire of the said petition nemine Contradicente And for the said Petitioner his further and better encouragement in the right ordering and attending the said Garden They ordain all ye Apprentices and Servants and all others as have the libertie and priveledge of insight in yr Shops to pay to the said petitioner at yr entrie to yr service an guinee, or twenty three shillings sterl, which they ordain to be payed in to their Clerk at the time of subscribing of the indentures betwixt the Masters and prentice and servant or others foresaids and the Clerk to be comtable yrbie to the said petitioner—And whereunto the Masters shall be assistant that the same shall be duly payed ffor THE WHICH CAUSES the said Mr. Ja Sutherland the petitioner shall be obliegt Like as by thir pnts he binds and obligeſ him to own and acknowledge all the Masters of the said Incorporation as his patrons and to attend them in the Garden and to demonstrate the plants whensoever they or any of them shall have inclination and to wait upon them at a solemn publick herbarizing in the fields four severall times every year and to teach their apprentices, servants and all others concerned in yr

Shops who have paid yr money, at such houres every day as the Masters shall think fitt to appoint from yr first entrie to yr service so long as the said petitioner shall keep the said Botanick Gardens WHEREUPON this present Act is made and published be me Patrick Patrick Mowbray ye Clerk in name and at command of the said Calling and also be the said Mr. James Sutherland the petitioner.

JA. SUTHERLAND". (79)

11th June, 1695.

Relative to the discussions regarding the date of Sutherland's appointment to the chair of Botany, it is interesting to note that in the preceeding act he is referred to, for the first time (in our manuscripts), as Professor of Botany. It is also worth noticing that the Trinity Hospital Garden, hitherto always known as the Physic Garden is now entitled the Botanic Garden.

We have seen how two Physic Gardens were established in Edinburgh; there was soon to be a third and this was also under Sutherland's direction. It will be remembered that the first Botanic Garden in Edinburgh began its existence in a plot near Holyrood which, after the transference of the plants to the Trinity Hospital Garden, was apparently abandoned. In 1695, the same year as the College Garden was taken over and converted into a Physic Garden, Sutherland, not content with the area already at his disposal, took over a part of the Royal Garden at Holyrood, known as the King's Garden, and there began to cultivate vegetables and other medicinal plants. But this piece of ground had nothing to do with the original plot in St. Ann's Yards, which lay to the South of the Abbey and which, as we have noted, had long since been abandoned. There were thus for a time three distinct Physic Gardens in Edinburgh, all under the jurisdiction of James Sutherland and reverting to Edgar's map of 1742 (14) all three are shown upon it, the third Garden, like the Trinity Hospital Garden under the name "Physick Garden." Of this, the Royal Garden, fuller particulars are to be found in the "Historical Description of the Monastery and Chapel Royal of Holyroodhouse." (21)

"To the north-east of this porch is the King's Garden, containing about an acre and a-half. The south wall of this garden forms the northern boundary of the great western court of the Palace. The original door-piece still remains in the centre of this wall, ornamented with the royal arms of Scotland and other devices. In the centre of this garden is a beautiful fancy Horologe of stone, fixed to a pedestal which is placed upon the top of three octagonal steps. The Horologe contains a variety of Dials placed in circular and semi-circular cavities ; but several of the gnomons are now broke off. The intervening spaces

between the dials are carved with various devices, among which the royal arms of Scotland, with the initials "C. R." St. Andrew and his Cross, St. George and the Dragon, the Thistle, Rose, Fleur-de-lis, Harp, &c., are still in tolerable preservation. This garden, which, with James V.'s apartments belongs to the heritable keeper of the Palace, is bounded towards the east by a square of grass field, on the north side of the Palace, known by the name of the Artillery Park; on the north by the street called the Abbey Hill; on the west, by a number of private dwelling houses within the precincts of the sanctuary; and on the south, by the great western or outer court of the Palace. There are also several other gardens of various dimensions on the south side of the Palace, belonging to the Duke of Hamilton, Earl of Haddington and others, as delineated on the accompanying plan of the Sanctuary. These gardens are generally under leases to tenants." (21)

Maitland writing in 1753 remarks :

"The Royal Garden, at the northern end of the outer court, is converted into a physick garden with a proper salary for an able botanist to superintend the same. This garden, according to the late ingenious and learned Dr. Nicolson, Archdeacon of Carlisle, was, above forty years ago, in such a flourishing condition by the skill and industry of the ingenious and worthy botanist, James Sutherland." (28)

The records of the Privy Council give a further account of the development of the Royal Physic Garden.

"Att Edinburgh, December 12, 1695.—Anent the petitione given in to the Lords of his Majesties Privy Counsell be Mr. James Southerland master of the physick gardine SHEWING that in february last The petitioner hadde gott that north yard of the Abbey belonging to the Kings palace wher the great Dyall stands and which is near to the Tannis Court [see 16] at which tyme he made applicatione to The Lords of the Thesaurie then in toune promised him all suteable encouradgement for bringing of it in levelling and putting the ground in good order wherupon he heth ever since made it his cheefe bussienes to cary on that work And he spared no necessarie expenss to bring it als great a lenth as was possible in so short a tyme haveing had ther this sumer a good cropt of melons and raised many other curious annualls fyne flowres and other plants not ordinary in this Countrie he will also undertake in a few years to have things in als good order ther as they are about Londone if he be allowed a competencie to defray the charges and make such reparations as shall be found needful particularly reed hedges to divyde, Shelter and lay the ground Lown and warm and a green house and a store to preserve orranges Lemons myrtles with other tender greens and fine exetick and forraigne

plants in winter And seeing the petitioner hes alreadie expended of his own money upwards of Ane thousand punds Scotts besydes four hundreth merks yet due to him out of the ffiftie pund Sterling Drawen by the Lords of Thesaurie out of the vacant Stipends of the Parochs of Tarbot and Ffearn in Ross upwards of ffifteen moneths ago which the collector asserts is otherwayes applyed And of which the petitioner can recover no payment And therfore craving that the said Lords of Privie Counsell might recomend the petitioner to the Lords of Thesaurie for reimbursing him of what soumes he hes alreadie wared out And for what other encouradgement they shall think fitt for carying on the said work so begun without which the work must cease And the petitioner suffer in reputation and interest what he is doeing being more for the honour of the Nation the ornament and use of his Majesties palace than his own privat behoove As the said petition bears which being this day red and considered be the said Lords of privie Counsell They hereby recomend to the Lords Comissioners of his Majesties Thesaurie to consider and grant the desyre of the said petitioner." (76)

Having taken charge of part of the Royal Garden at Holyrood, Sutherland, in 1699, became King's Botanist receiving a Royal Warrant from William the Third in the following terms :

" William &c. Forasmuch as wee considering yt Mr. James Sutherland has bein att great paines to sett up a physick Garden att Edinburgh and yt he hath for some tyme taught wt. good success ye knowledge of plants and has also brought into good order the garden about our palace of holyroodhouse and wee being willing in consideration yrof and for his further encouragmt. yrin to bestow a mark on him of our royll favor therfore witt yee us to have given granted and disponed Lyke as be these prnts we give grant and dispone to thesd, Mr. James Sutherland a yearly pension of fiftie pound ster: dureing our pleasure only to be pd to him out of the first and readiest of our rents revenues customs and casualties whatever our said Kingdome and yt att twa terms in the year Whit: and Martinmas be equal proportions Begining the first terms payt. att Whitsunday next to come and so furth to continue yearly and termly dureing ye space forsd Commanding hereby ye Lords Commissrs. of our Thesry and all receevers and collectors of our rents revenues customs and casualties qtever present or for the time being to readily answer and pay the forsd pension att ye terms above mentioned to ye sd Mr. James quheranent these prnts shall be to all qcerned a sufficient warrant Given at our Court att Kensingtonye twelf Janry 1699 and of our reigne the tent year." (77)

One or two extracts follow which relate mainly to the College Garden. They serve to emphasise the financial difficulties with which the servants of the Town Council of that time had to contend.

" 1699, April 5.—The same day the Councill upon ane petition given in be William Cleghorn, Colledge gardner, shewing the present condition of his numerous familie and the smallness of his salary doe appoint William Sheill, pnt Colledge Thessr, to pay to the said Wm Cleghorn ten Rex dollars of pnt supply wheranent thir pnts shall be warrand." (63)

The next refers both to the Trinity Hospital and the College Gardens and to the collection of rare plants in the latter.

" 1699, May 5th.—The same day Bailie Hamilton for himself and in name of the rest of the Committee anent the phisick and Colledge gairdens and the Rarities of the Colledge reported that they haveing visited the foirsaid gairdens and Rarities hade determined upon the followeing Resolutions which they desyred the said Bailie Hamilton to report to the Councill as their oppinion concerning the foresaid parlar Remitt to them viz :—that the phisick garden was sufficiently planted and in very good order and condition as to that parlar according as the season of the yeir did require But that the following defects ought to be repaired viz :—that part of the Easter wall opposit to the Trinity Hospital now about the falling be furthwith taken down and rebuilt That the wester wall yrof upon the East Syde of the way Leading from the Newport to the Mutriceahill being so low that the sheep coming to the town that way doe come over the dyke and eat the herbs and plants of the garden, and therefore ought to be hightened so as to prevent the lyke and hinder passengers from looking into the gairdens and defending the herbs and plants yrby from the West wind conforme to the Councill's former Act yranent that the reed hedges which now have lasted ten yeirs being defective ought to be repaired That the former bad seasons have destroyed sevll rare trees, shrubs, plants and flowers which hes put Mr. James Sutherland to extraordinary expenses to endeavour to preserve them and will cost him more to supply them which the Committee conceaved did deserve the Councill's consideration. That the herbs in the Dispensary of the Colledge gairden were in veray good order and condition and that Mr. James Sutherland hade sownen three hundred different seeds in order to make up the herbs that are wanting and are dilligently planting them as the season allows that two hott beds be made with glasses as is usuall for tender plants and herbs and that a magazine of Dung be provyded accordingly. That upon visiting the rarities they fond several of them are perished and more perishing for want of a fit person to oversee them. And the appointing of a fit person might be mean not only to preserve ym But to encrease them without any Charges And the Councill Doe name the person as soon as possible because these rarities are of great value for the better understanding Naturall Philosophy and would be so reckoned upon where that learning is esteemed As the report under the hand

of the Committee bears Which being considered be the Councill they Appoyn the pnt toun Thessr to cause build up the Wester Wall of the said phisick gairden fyve foots from the ground of the way leading to and from the North port And Appoynts the present maisters or Thessrs of the trinity hospital to take down and rebuild the Easter Wall of the said gairden and that imediately to prevent the hazard of falling of the dyke. And the Councill doe nominat and appoint Mr. James Paterson to oversee and take care of the Rarities in the said Colledge and to make inventor of the saman and for his encouradgment to give paines to understand these Rarities exactly so as to give a reasonable account of them when demanded Doe allow him ane hundred punds Scots yeirly for the spaice of two years after the terme of Whitsunday next And Appoynts the pnt Colledge Thssr and his successors in Office to pay the same to him qrteler dureing the sd space Whereanent thir pnts shall be a warrand. Sic. Subr. G. Home Prov." (62)

The following again refers to Cleghorn's salary.

" 1701, December 24.—The Same Day upon Report of Bailie Hutchison the Councill augments William Cleghorn Colledge gardner his sellearie of eightie pound Scots yearly to Ten pound sterlinc yearly and appoynts James Nimmo present Colledge Thesaurer and his successors in office to pay the same to him quarterly beginning the first quarterly payment at Candlemess next wheranent thir pnts shall be a warrand." (64)

Reverting to the Garden at Trinity Hospital we may quote again from the Records of the Town Council.

" Edinburgh, 4th June, 1701.—The same day the Counsell Recommended to Baillie Duncan and Thesaurer to get the former acts anent the dykes of the phisick Garden put in execution." (65) [see also 9, 60, 66].

For over four years from this date there is no further entry in the minutes of the Town Council, which relates either to Sutherland or to the Gardens, but there are other sources of information.

We are fortunate in having, among the original documents bearing upon the history of the Garden during this period, a number of letters written by Sutherland himself to Petiver, Sir Hans Sloane, Dr. Richardson, and to Thoresby; most of these were discovered in the British Museum when the records were searched at the instigation of Sir Isaac Bayley Balfour and of Mr. D. W. Kemp. A few other letters written by Charles Preston, Sir Robert Sibbald and Wodrow, some of which have been more recently discovered in the Edinburgh University Library are also of interest. The Sutherland letters were all written between the years 1700 and 1702, and are indisputable

evidence of his energy and enterprise. At the same time they are of particular interest as they show how, in spite of slow and primitive methods of transport, a great collection of plants was gradually brought together. The names of several of the young surgeons who were Sutherland's emissaries are mentioned but curiously enough only one of them (James Penman) appears in the Edinburgh Apprentice or Burgess roll and he not until 1722 ; but in early days these registers were very carelessly kept.

Sutherland's correspondence is here arranged in chronological order, and for the most part his fourteen letters (as far as we know all that have been preserved) are given in full even though one or two of them do not relate to his botanical activities.

SUTHERLAND TO MR. JAMES PETIVER, F.R.S., Apothecary and Antiquary, London.

Edinburgh, Mar. 25, 1700.

Worthy Sir,

Last year I had the honour of a Letter from you with a present of the first, second and third centuries of your most curious Museum by our good friend Mr. Robert Rutherford ; and some while after I had ane other kind and most obligeing Letter with a very acceptable parcel of Dried Specimens of Exotick Plants, by my friend and countryman Mr. Archibald Stewart then come from the Scotch plantation in Darien in the West Indies, and since I had by Mr. William Clerk, the fourth and fifth centuries of your Museum but no letter with them, for all which I return you most hearty thanks and shall ever acknowledge myself bound to endeavour to assist you in further augmenting your Museum so far as my capacitie and Circumstances can allow, All the surgeons and Apothecaries apprentices in this place are usually my schollars at the Physick Garden, and after they have served in a shop five years they seek Occasions of going Surgeons in Ships to the East or West Indies, or any other forrain place that offers, and so spend their time abroad for the space of six or seven years before they return, and set up a shop of their own. And I assure you I shall not be wanting for the future to oblige every one of them to do you all the services they are capable. In testimony whereof I recommend to you this bearer Mr. William Porteous Chirurgeon my most special friend, ready to go to sea as himself will at large inform you, that he may receive your Instructions and Commands which I can promise you he will endeavour to fulfill to the utmost of his power. And if the Kingdom of Scotland produces anything worth your while I myself shall be at pains to procure it for you. I intend (God willing) to travell all Scotland over that I may make a full Collection of all the plantes Indigence which I intend to plant with all the rest of the British plants in a place by themselves in our Physick Garden after the order and method observed

by the incomparable Mr. John Ray in his most distinct and accomplished Synopsis Methodica Stirpium Britannicorum. I did begin last Summer and travelled afoot upwards of two hundred miles with great ease and satisfaction and so I purpose to continue every year till I search the whole Kingdom, and ye may be sure, I will not confine myself only to plants but will likewise notice and inquire after all other Naturall Curiosities. The Lapis asbestos, or Amianthus is lately found in the North of Scotland and I shall procure some of it for you if ye desire. Pray be pleased to let me know if ye desire Specimens of any of our country plants, such as Pyrola Alsines flore [*Trivalentis europaea* L.], Chamaepericlymenum [*Cornus suecica* L.], Chamaemorus [*Rubus Chamaemorus* L.], Sedum minus ericoides [*Saxifraga oppositifolia* L.], Rosmarinum silvestre nostras [*Andromeda polifolia* L.], Orobis Sylvaticus nostras [*Vicia Orobis* DC.], and the like that may be rare with you. I should be exceedingly obliged to you or any of your Botanick acquaintances for seeds and sets of many English plants I want, especially Grasses. I shall give you the trouble of a list of them by my next. This is the first occasion I hade of sending a Letter to you by a Convenient Bearer, being loth to give you the trouble of a Letter by the common post, but after this I shall have good opportunities of writeing to you every month by severall of my friends here that shall have occasion to go for London, I therefore most earnestly desire your Commands which shall be very punctually obeyed by,

Worthy Sir,

Your most humble and oblidged svant,

JA : SUTHERLAND,

Superintendent of Physick Garden. (90)

SUTHERLAND TO MR. JAMES PETIVER.

Edinburgh, April 29, 1700.

Worthy Sir,

I hade both your Letters by Doctor Lammie with some few exotick seeds and the 6th and 7th Centuries of your Museum, which were all of them very acceptable. I shall be very diligent and carefull to provide for you a sufficient number of specimens, of all I can get, of those plants contained in your List, and shall be most ready to do you all the Service I'me able. This Bearer, James Penman is my friend, he hath served five years at Edinburgh a Surgeon Apothecary, and now designs to serve as Journeyman a little time in ane Apothecaries shop at London, and Afterwards to spend Six or Seven years as Surgeon at Sea in some Merchant Ship, trading to the East or West Indies as he shall finde occasion I earnestly recommend him to your favour, that ye would advise him of a convenient shop to serve in,

and in the mean time give him instructions how he may collect things for your Museum, when he shall have occasion to travell abroad. I can promise in his behalf ye will finde him very good natured and thankfull, and what Kindnesse ye show him I shall reckon as done to my Self. I beleeve I told you formerly that I'me planting in our Physick Garden at Edinburgh all the plantes indigence of Britain after Ray's method. I should be much obliged to any that could help me to some plants I want either fresh seed or Sets, especially the Grasses, if this ly in your way, I shall send you a List of such as I desire. There is ane other Request I would put up to you viz. I have this pretty while been collecting Ancient Coyns and Medals especially Roman, and Greek, And your correspondents abroad in those places where the Romans and Greeks have had them Residence might probably meet with severall of their Ancient Coyns in Gold, Silver, Copper or Brasse, which are usually found by the Country People when they are either digging in the ground, or clearing the Ruins of Ancient Buildings These they may buy for the intrinsick value of the Metall or there abouts, and I shall be very willing to pay what they shall cost which I shall order my correspondent at London to advance for me, they may take at a venture such as come in their way, I beleeve they will not know well how to destinguish them, I shall be exceedingly obliged to you if you can do any thing for me this way, and desire your answer thereannent by your next. Ye may leave your Letters or any thing else you intend to send me, with Mr. John Campbell, Goldsmith at the three Crouns in the Strand, who will take care to send them by the first shyp. Mr. William Clark gives you his hearty Service, and hopes to see you shortly at London, I wish you all happenesse and am

Worthy Sir,

Your most humble and oblidged Servant,

JA : SUTHERLAND. (91)

It is interesting to note that a Mr. James Penman—probably the man to whom Sutherland refers—chirurgeon major to the garrison of Gibraltar—was made Burgess and Guildbrother by right of his father, James Penman, goldsmith, gratis (that is without paying the usual fees) by act of the Town Council, 24th January, 1722.

SUTHERLAND TO JAMES PETIVER.

Edinburgh, May 8th, 1700.

Worthy Sir,

Though I have wrote to you not long ago by my friend James Penman, yet I would not ommit this Occasion of my Countryman Robert Moor Chirurgeon. This young man has served a Chirurgeon-Apothecary at Elgin of Murray in the North of Scotland and has now

come to London to seek some good Occasion of a Surgeons mate at sea to the East or West Indies. He may be capable to do you Service in collecting for your Museum as ye shall please to give him Instructions, and has a great desire to get some insight in the Knowledge of Plants and other parts of the Natural History and I Know ye are very ready to encourage any that are so inclined I shall therefore beg ye would give him your Best Advice, and help him to any occasion may offer which shall be acknowledged as a most singular favour By,

Worthy Sir,

Your very much oblidged Servant,

JA : SUTHERLAND.

I shall minde collecting of Specimens of those plants ye Desire, and am just now begun with *Ornithogalum luteum* [*Gagea lutea* (L.) Ker-Gawler]. (92)

SUTHERLAND TO JAMES PETIVER.

Edinburgh, May 15, 1700.

Worthy Sir,

This Bearer Mr. William Cunningham my very good friend he been a Sailor these twenty years bygone, and being very shortly to go to Sea, has promised to collect such naturall Curiosities as may come in his way, both for your use and mine. I shall therefore request ye would bestow on him some of your printed Instructions with what other advice ye shall think fitt by word of mouth, I can promise he will be very ready to obey them, and though he be not skilled in plants, yet he may be diligent in gathering shells, Insects and such like.

This with my humble duety in all at present from

Worthy Sir,

Your ever oblidged Servant,

JA : SUTHERLAND. (93)

SUTHERLAND TO DR. RICHARD RICHARDSON, F.R.S. North Brierley, nigh Bradford in Yorkshire.

Edinburgh, May 20, 1700.

Worthy Sir,

I hade your last letter of Apr. 20 and the Box with such plants as ye was pleased to send did come safe to my hands May 2. Most of them were in very good condition and exceedingly acceptable. This day I have sent you back the same Box by the Berwick Carter, directed as under and filled with plants each marked with a numbered stick as follows, viz. :—

[Herewith follows a list of forty-two plants.]

The Box is directed for Doctor Richard Richardson at North Brierley nigh Bradford in Yorkshire, To be left with Mr. John Bell, Postmaster of New Castle who is desired to send it to Leeds, to be left with the Bradford Carrier, to be sent as directed.

That day your Carrier brought your box to Edinburgh was so excessively rainy that I could take no plants out of the Ground, and I never had occasion of a Berwick Carrier since till this day. I could not send all the plants you desire haveing lost some of them, and others I can send you some while after this, therefore to fill your box I sent at a venture such as I thought ye might readily want, If ye would please to send me a list of all the plants in your Garden I shall after this know what to send and what to desire from you. I sent you a Specimen of *Vaccinia nigra* foliis myrtinis crispis [*Arctostaphylos Uva-Ursi* (L.) Spreng] which Mr. Lhuyd did give me when he was at Edinburgh last winter, Wee have hade no Letter from him since. It's like he may have wrote to you and I long to hear how he is in health, and what he has met with in his travels, and when he thinks of returning for Oxford. I expect to hear from you after ye receive the Box, and if ye please to bestow any more plants send also those following, which are quite dead of those ye sent, viz. :—

Filix Alpina *Pedicularis rubriis* foliis *Subtus villosis* R.S.M. [*Woodsia ilvensis* Br.], *Adianthus petraeum* *perpusillum* *Anglicum* foliis *bifidis* vel *trifidis* R.S.M. [*Hymenophyllum tunbridgense* Sm.] if it can be a plant what can admit of cultivating. It seemed to me some kind of *Muscus*. *Thalictrum minimum* *montanum* *atrorubens* foliis *splendentibus* R.S.M. [*Thalictrum alpinum* L.], *Lysimachia Chamaenerion* dicta *angustifolia* B.P. [*Epilobium angustifolium* L.], *Thlaspi Globulariis* folio J.B. [*Lepidium Smithii* Hook.?], *Lychnis Alpina minima* Ray list [*Lychnis alpina* L.], *Viola martia* *limbis folium argenteis* [*Viola odorata* Linn. var.?] and *Marum Syriacum*. I want severall plants for my Dispensatorie which I would gladly have supplied, They are :—I want set or seeds of these herbaceous plants as they are named in the London Dispensatorie. *Adianthus verum* [*Adiantum Capillus-veneris* L.]; *Aloe*, *Ammi vulgare* [*Ammi majus* L.] et [*Ammi*] *cret frim.* [*Carum copticum* Benth et Hk. f.]. *Amoris Poma*. *Anchusa*. *Anisum*. *Aristolochia rotunda*. *Arthanita sive Cyclamen*. *Bardana Minor* [*Arctium sp.*]. *Bryonia nigra* [*Tamus communis* L.]. *Camphorata*. *Capparis*. *Carthamus*. *Crithmum*. *Cuminum*. *Dentaria*. *Elatine*. *Esula major*. *Ferula*. *Gentiana*. *Laurus Alexandrina* [*Ruscus Hypoglossum* L.]. *Limonium*. *Mandragora*. *Masuex* [*Mastix*?] *vulgare* *Petroselinum Macedonicum*. *Polium montanum* [*Teucrium Polium* L. var.]. *Ricinus sive palma christi* [*Ricinus communis* L.]. *Ruta silvestris*, sive *Harmala* [*Peganum Harmala* L.]. *Satyrium foemina*. *Sesamum*. *Seseli Massiliense* Sive *Creticum*. *Staphis agria* [*Delphinium Staphisagria* L.]. *Thapsia*.

Umbilicus veneris [*Cotyledon Umbilicus-veneris L.*]. Zea Sive Spelta [*Zea Mays L.*].

Trees and Shrubs I want :—

[*Vitex*] Agnus Castus. Amygdalus amara. Balanus myrepica.
[*Rhamnus*] Frangula. Ilex. Larix. Lentiscus. Malus Punica [*Punica Granatum L.*]. Olea. Rhus sorianiorum. Siliqua edulis [*Ceratonia Siliqua L.*]. Sorbus. Suber. Terebinthus. Thymelaea. Tragacantha. Pistacia.

Any of those that can be conveniently sent either in sets or seed will be most acceptable about their proper season of transplanting and gathering their seeds. It will be also most obligeing to cause you Gardiner gather seeds of all the plants in your Garden, and those that are most curious in the fields about you, for I am to correspond with Mr. Chichorneau Chancelor of the University of Montpelier and Professor of Botany there, [M. Michel Chicoyneau] He desires I should collect for him seeds of all our Northern plants and promises to give in exchange Seeds of what ever his garden or the fields about Montpelier produce and apart also of those he can procure from his other correspondents up and down the world. Ye may assure yourself of a part of whatever comes to my hand. There is lately found in the North of Scotland Lapis Amianthus. I am to get some threeds of it next week which I shall send you if ye desire. I hear also of a Substance like Pitch found in our Limestone Quarries, which I hope to procure for you, and I shall from time to time acquaint you of what ever Naturall Curiosities I can gather up in this place. I have these severall years bygone been at great pains in purchasing Ancient Coyns of all the three Mettals, Gold, Silver, and Brasse or Copper, and have got a considerable Collection of Roman Saxon and English ones, and all the Scotch that ever I have seen in any Mettall, I use to buy up all the Doubles that come in my way and shall be always ready to exchange them for others with any person thats curious. Pray let me know if ye, or any of your neighbour gentlemen take pleasure in such things. I hear Mr. Ralph Thorsby hes a vast treasure of them, and I would account it my great honour and advantage to get a Correspondence with him on this account. If the Gentleman be of your acquaintance I'me very desireous ye give him my most humble service, if he wants anything I can add to his collection it shall be dueily sent. This till new occasion

Worthy Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

JA : SUTHERLAND. (99)

SUTHERLAND TO MR. JAMES PETIVER.

Edinburgh, Jany. 24, 1700.

Worthy Sir,

Recd. July 5, 1700.

I shall always when any of my schollars design to go to Sea Surgeons, abroad from London recommend them to your advice, that ye may give them your Instructions how to collect in their travels such things as may be serviceable to you. And therefore I take the occasion of this Bearer, Alexander Watson to give you my due Respects. He hath served ane Apprenticeship here at Edinburgh, with a very skilful and well employed Chirurgeon-Apothecary and it is pretty well institute in both surgery and pharmacy. And now designes to go to sea, Surgeons Mate, as he shall finde best opportunity, I therefore earnestly beseech ye would please to favour him with your best advice, and if ye can get him Mate to any Surgeon of your acquaintance, it is that he most inclines too, but that failing, he will be obliged to you if ye can get him Journeyman in some Apothecaries Shop. I expect ye will do for him, what ye can, and I engage ye will finde him very thankfull, and ready to serve you on all occasions.

I am collecting for you dried Specimens of those Plants ye desire, as I finde them come to flowr and seed. I intend towards the end of the next month to begin my herbarizing through the Highlands of Perthshire where I shall meet with Chamaepericlymenum [*Cornus suecica* L.], Pyrola Europaea Alsines flore [*Trientalis europaea* L.], Salix pumila montana folio rotundo J.B. [*Salix herbacea* L.], Thalictrum minimum montanum atrorubens foliis splendentibus [*Thalictrum alpinum* L.], Sedum minus Alpinum luteum nostras [*Saxifraga aizoides* L.], and perhaps Pentaphylloides pumila foliis ternis ad estremitates Perfides [*Potentilla* sp.?] with many curious mountainous Scots plants being very earnest about collecting Plantes Indigence of Britain that I may plant them according to Rays method in the Chirurgeons Garden at Edinburgh. I want severall Grasses and other plants that may perhaps be found near London and have therefore sent a List of them to Mr. William Watt Chirurgeon lately come from Maryland, I have ordered him to wait on you, and let you see it, that ye may help me to seeds or sets of such of them as ye can procure which I assure will be very obligeing. My acquaintance and Correspondence with Mr. Doody and Mr. Bobart at Oxford is almost worn out for severall years by gone. Ye will do me a Great favour, if ye can renew it. I long for a Line from you with what Botanick News ye please to let me Know, ye may write to me by the London post when ye have leasure and if ye have any new Commands they shall be most cheerfully obeyed by

Worthy Sir,

Your ever oblidged Servant,

JA : SUTHERLAND. (94)

SUTHERLAND TO DR. RICHARDSON.

Edinburgh, July 11th, 1700.

Worthy Sir,

I hade yours of June 28, which did give me ane account of the misfortun of your box. I was truely not a little concerned, that I hade heard nothing from you for full six weekes after I hade wrote to you by post, fearing ye hade been sick. I'me sorie the plants I sent did come in so ill condition ; but in August all those that ye desire shall be sent, with Pyrola Alsines flore [*Trientalis europaea* L.] and some others that perhaps ye may want. I give you here the trouble of a list of grasses in Ray's Synopsis Methodica, which I have not yet met with in my simpling, the ripe seeds or sets of which would be most acceptable ; for I plant in our physick garden all the varieties of grasses, and whatever other vegetable will admit culture, though never so mean or contemptible. I doubt not but ye cause your gardener gather the ripe seeds of all curious plants that grow in your garden, though they be not annuall. I shall be obliged to you for a share of every kinde ; and, if ye please, shall send yow a part of all I can collect here. I believe I told you that I hade begun a correspondence with Mr Cicoyneau [M. Michel Chicoyneau], Chancellour of the Universitie of Mompelier, and Professor of Botany there. He desires seeds of all I can procure here, and promises me a part of what ever growes in the Garden of Mompelier or the fields thereabout, as also what else he can get from all his other correspondents. The plant Mr Lhwyd takes for Vaccinia rubra foliis myrtinis crispis [*Arctostaphylos Uva-ursi* (L.) Spreng.] and whereof I sent yow a specimen, grows plentifully in our North Highlands of Scotland, and differs much in fruit from Vaccinia rubra buxeis foliis [*Vaccinium Vitis-Idaea* L.] ; the berries of that specimen are very dry and without sape : those of the ordinair box-leaved are tart and full of juice : the country people eat both berries ; calling the first " Gnashakin," and the other " Breylakin." I have friends in the Highlands that promise to send me both ; and when they come to my hand I shall send yow sets of each. We have yet heard nothing of Mr Lhwyd since he went from this. I render yow most hearty thanks for your promise of procureing me a correspondence with Mr Thoresby, and shall be very dilligent in collecting for him what coyns or other things of antiquite may be got in this country. I have doubles of many Roman Silver Denarii, found in severall places in Scotland ; a good number of old Scotch coyns in gold, silver, and copper ; and severall silver Saxon and English pieces. Those small Roman coyns of coarse mixt mettal, found in your ground some ten years ago, which ye have by yow, would be very welcome to me, if I knew what to send you in requitall. I want several of the emperairs towards the end of the empire. If you would put them in a little box, which seall and direct for me, and leave them with any acquaintance at York, of whom give me

notice in your next, I shall cause any acquaintance that comes for Edinburgh from London to call for them; but ye most minde to wrap every single piece in a small bitt of paper, and pack all close in the box, that they may not justle one on ane other and readiely deface the coyn, as I lately found to my great losse in a parcel sent me from London by my most worthy friend, Mr. Charleton of the Middle Temple, to whose bounty I'me exceeding obliged. Before ye send any plants, give me tymeous advertisement, that I may order the post-masters of New Castle and Berwick to take care of them. I wish yow all health and prosperity, and acknowledge myself,

Worthy Sir,

Your most humble and ever obliged servant,

JAS. SUTHERLAND. (34, 100)

SUTHERLAND TO JAMES PETIVER.

Edinburgh Sept. 17, 1700.

Worthy Sir,

About a month ago I hade a letter from my good friend Mr. William Watt now gone Surgeon in a Ship bound for Guinea, and to return by Jamaica for London. He told me he hade given you a List of many Grasses and other plants that I wanted either ripe seeds or sets of which ye was pleased to promise to procure for me at conveniency. If ye have any ready this Bearer my good friend will receive them from you and send them by Sea with his own goods to this place. There is nothing I so much desire for our Physick Garden here at Edinburgh as a full Collection of all the Plantes Indigence of Britain, which I'me planting in order after Mr. Rayes Method in his synopsis Methodica Stirpium Britannicorum and I shall be exceedingly obliged to any that assists me, I shall send by the first Ship bound from this to London, such specimens of those Plants ye require, as I have got collected, as also Sets of them for planting if ye so please. I give you thanks for your many favours and am ever

Worthy Sir,

Your most humble and obliged Servant,

JA : SUTHERLAND. (95)

SUTHERLAND TO JAMES PETIVER.

Edinburgh Jan. 16, 1701.

Worthy Sir,

I hade your Letter of Oct. 21 by our good friend Mr. Alexr. Simpson a pretty while ago, but after he was put ashore at a place some twenty miles from this, the Ship hade the misfortune to be blowen out of the Roads and put to sea and was Amissing a considerable

while in Great hazard of being cast away. At length she is arrived and I have got the Specimens of Grasses. Your Seven Centuries and the two pound of Sweet Fennel Seed ye was pleased to send all which were in good Case, are very acceptable. Our very Good Friend Mr. Walter Kier has sailed from this to China about a fourthnight ago. He desires me to give you his humble service, and promises to be very diligent, and mindful to collect whatever comes in his way that can be obligeing, either to you or me. The Shipes to return to this place and so soon as comes I shall not fail to give you notice of it please God, I be alive. This Bearer, Mr. Walter Scot, Goldsmith and my very particular friend being bound for London, where he intends to stay some months, I gladly imbraced the Opportunity of sending you the few specimens I could collect for you at our Physick Garden. Our Parliaments sitting would not permitt me to make my intended peramberlations up and down the Country the last Summer which is the reason ye want from me Specimens of *Muscus clavatus* fol : Cupressi C.B. [*Lycopodium alpinum* L.], *Filix pumila saxatilis* altera Clusii Park [*Dryopteris oreopteris* L.], *Filix ramosa minor* G.B. [*Poly-podium Dryopteris* L.], *Adianthus album floridum* [*Asplenium Ruta-muraria* L.], *Chamaemorus* Clus : Ger [*Rubus Chamaemorus* L.], *Vitis Idaea palustris* C.B. [*Vaccinium Oxycoccus* (L.) Druce], *Sedum purpureum pratense* I.B. [*Sedum villosum* L.], *Cochlearia marina* folio Anguloslo parvo D. Lausor [*Cochlearia danica* L.], *Vicia Sylvatica Multiflora maxima* P.B. [*Vicia sylvatica* L.], *Gladiolus lacustris* Dortmanni Clus. [*Lobelia Dortmanna* L.], *Bifolium minimum* B.G. [*Listera cordata* (L.) Br.], and severall others all which I hope to procure for you this ensueing Summer when I propose to travell double as much as usual. I hade lately sent me from the North Highlands of Scotland, where grows *Vaccinia rubra* foliiis myrtinis crispis [*Arctostaphylos Uva-ursi* (L.) Spreng.] and *Ledum palustre* nostras Arbuti flore [*Ledum palustre* L.], a stone that seems to me very curios. It is of no regular figure. Dark Gray coloured with some sparkles like silver pretty hard and ponderous weighing about thirteen units. It smells so strong of March Violets, Roots of Florentin Iris, or rather as I think of Double Walflowrs that its very surprising. When I got it first I doubted it might have been sement by Art, and to try I infused it a whole night in warm water to which it presently communicate the smell and yet continues as fragrant as ever. I purpose to visit the place next Summer, And shall bring all I can get of the stones to be distribut amongs my curious Acquaintances. Ye may be sure not to be forgot. The Specimens ye sent of the English Grasses were very welcom but if ye can procure either ripe seeds or Sets for planting ye can in nothing more oblige me. A part of any other fresh curios Seed for raising plants is also earnestly desired. Sir Robert Sibbald gives you his humble service and has sent you his Auctarium Musaei Balfouriani, with the only double he hade of his book de Baloerus [Balaenis] at

hand. It is in no good case wanting the figures, but so soon as he lights on a complete one he promises to send it, and expects ye will remit to him what Centuries ye have printed of your Museum. If ye send any of them to the Booksellers here, to be either exchanged for other Books or sold ye must put a price on them, and tell what books ye are willing to change them with But I think ye hade best let alone till ye publish as many centuries as may make some considerable thick volum. I think a dozen might do pretty well, and when ever ye shall please to send them I shall use my best endeavours to get them put of a few coppies at first will do best, when ever ye have a minde to send any thing to me, put it up as ye think most convenient with your ordinair direction wrot on, and give it unto Mr. John Campbell, Goldsmith at the three Crouns in the Strand, who will take speciall care to get It conveyed to me, and if ye please sometimes to let me have the favour of a line by the Generall Post with what Botanick or other Virtuoss News occurs I shall be singularly beholden to you. I have a particular friend that went Surgeon in the Roebuck with Mr. Dampier upwards of two years ago, I have heard nothing since concerning that ship only I remember it was once in the Publick Newes that Mr. Dampier hade quarrelled with his Lientenant Mr. Fisher and hade sent him prisoner from some of the Spanish plantations in the West Indies. I am very concerned to know what did become of their Surgeon, his name is Mr. Walter Borthwick a Edinburgh man. Pray do me the favour to enquire about both Mr. Dampier and him, and how soon you get any true Account let me know by post I want also exceedingly newes of our friend Mr. Archibald Stewart who was once at Caledonia [probably Darien] whom ye are pleased to name in One of the Centuries of your Museum amongst your Benefactors, Mr. Alexander Simpson gives you his hearty respects, I am,

Worthy Sir,

Your ever obliged Servant,

JA : SUTHERLAND. (96)

SUTHERLAND TO JAMES PETIVER.

Edinburgh, Jany. 29, 1701.

Worthy Sir,

I had yours of May 13th with a most Acceptable present of Dried Specimens of some very rare plants, by our good friend Mr. William Clark for which I return you most hearty thanks, I shall this Summer take all possible pains to collect for you a sufficient number of dried Specimens of all the Curious Scotch Plants I can meet with, as ye desire, and shall be very carefull to get *Gladiolus Lacustris* *Dortmanni* [*Lobelia Dortmanna* L.] which I'me informed

growes some twenty miles from Edinburgh. I intend to visit the place, and after that to go a good many myles, where I hope to finde the Violet smelling stone of which I shall take both for you and myself. I had only one of them which I hade promised when I first got it to my Honourd and most bountiful Patron, Mr. Charleton of the Middle Temple, who has very generously gifted me with many choice and curious Roman Medals, in Brasse Silver and some in Gold, and continues yet to keep for me, such duplicates as come to his hands which he knows I want. I have just now sent him the stone and I Know he will not Grudge to let you see and consider it. I have kept it since the beginning of October, and yet it continues fragrant, though I have severall times infused in very warm water for five or six hours at once. I find it mentioned by both Bochus de Boet and Georgius Agricola. If I meet with any other naturall Curiosities in this summers perambulation ye may be sure I will not neglect takeing of them what may be sufficient both for myself and my obligeing friends. I am glad to hear from you Dampier is shortly expected home his Surgeon Mr. Walter Borthwick was once my scholar at our Garden, and continues to be my speciall friend. I expect some Curiosities from him, I thank you for promising to engage your Correspondents to collect for me Ancient Coyns, there is nothing can be more acceptable to me, and I shall thankfully pay for what I get of that Sort. Mr. Rayes Proposals for his third volume were very welcome hade I got them timeously. I doubt not but all in this Kingdom that have the first two would have gladly subscribed for that but this month was begun before I received it with your Letter and the Specimens from Mr. Clark, however I desire to have one secured for myself on whatever terms. I wish ye would by your next a large account of Mr. Jezriel Jones his undertakeing how long he is to stay abroad, and in what places, what summ ye usually subscribe for, and how subscriptions are to be sent, and I shall be very ready to contribut what assistance I'me able.

Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Fyfe and Mr. Archibald Stewart who is lately returned from Spain give you their hearty respects, and so does Sir Robert Sibbald who has sent you a letter with the figures ye wanted for his Book of Whales.

This Bearer Mr. David Lindsay has served his Apprenticeship to a chirurgeon Apothecary here and has been some time a scholar at the Physick Garden, he goes for London to wait ane Occasion of going Surgeons Mate in some good ship, or if that does not timeously offer he will be satisfied to serve some while Journeyman in ane Apothecaries Shop till he find opportunity of going to sea. I use my wonted freedome of recommending him to your best advice which ye will finde him most ready to follow, and when It can be in his power do you any kind of Services I dare engage in his behalfe

ye shall not finde him unduetieful. What ever Seeds of Grasses in my list ye can get will be very oblideing especially those of the Dypensis Kinds. The ship that this bearer goes in will be ready to return again for Scotland after four or five weeks stay at London the Master is John Spence my very particular friend, if ye please to write or send anything to me by him he will take speciall care of it. I shall be glade to hear what ye have got from Carolina, and there be any ripe Seeds in your purchase a few would come in good season to

Worthy Sir,

Your most humble oblidged servant,

JA : SUTHERLAND. (97)

SUTHERLAND TO JAMES PETIVER.

Edinburgh, August 22, 1701.

Worthy Sir,

The enclosed from Sir Robert Sibbald and me were designed to be sent by Mr. David Lindsay whom ye will find recommended in mine, I hade left both the Letters with my servant to be given to Mr. Lindsay, but it seems he was out of the way when he called for them. I have taken occasion to send them by this bearer Mr. Grahame who has been Apprentice to Mr. James Hammilton, and will be very ready to do you what service he can, he designs to go to sea and will be very thankfull if ye can recommend him to any good Occasion.

Mr. Hammilton will give him ane ample enough testimony in his Letter to you. I hear of Captain Dampiers arrivall, pray if it be not troublesome, do me the favour to inquire after Mr. Walter Borthwick who went Surgeon with him from England in his Majestie's Ship the Roebuck, and let me Know by your next what Account ye get of him. I shall have occasion next month to send what Specimens I can get for this year of our Scotch Plants. Mr. Archibald Stewart is gone to the Highlands to pass his time till the beginning of November, he Knows the Plants of that place exactly well and I have Given him both Doctor Sherards List and yours that he may gather Sets and Specimens of all thats curious there : Pray when ye have occasion either to see, or write to Dr. Sherard Give him my most humble duety, I hade the honour of a Letter from him in the beginning of the Spring, in which he desired me to addresse my Letters to him at Mark Lane, Lundon, not mentioning any particular person liveing nor at what sijn ; I have wrote once to him by that addresse, but not haveing got a Return I'me apt to think my Letter hes missed him, if ye can give me some surer addresse ye will do me a great and singular favour for I have a Box with Plants to send to him by Sea, and know not whom to direct it for at London till I receive the Doctor's orders. I hope by that time to get you the violet Smelling Stone with some

petrified Curiosities lately discovered in this Kingdom. I long to hear whether ye have used any Means of procureing Ancient Medals from Abroad. I think it might be easie for the Ships that go for those places, where the Greeks and Romans hade their habitation to enquire after them at the Country. People there, who would readyly part with them for some small mater, there is no Curiositie I affect so much as Collecting those Ancient Coyns in what ever Mettall whether Gold, Silver or Brasse, and shall be most singularly oblidged to any that can procure some of them to me at a reasonable rate, and what money may be due on that Account, I shall order to be payed at London. If ye can get any ripe Seeds of Grasses or any other Seeds or Curious Plants. I shall have a friend at London who will receive them from you after the end of September this Till new Occasion from :

Worthy Sir,

Your most humble oblidged Servant,

JA : SUTHERLAND. (98)

[A List of Grasses follows.]

SUTHERLAND TO SIR HANS SLOANE, M.D., F.R.S., London.

Edinburgh, December 11, 1701.

Honoured Sir,

I had your Letter by Post of Aug : 28th and towards the end of October I received the Box of Medals which ye hade delivered to Mr. John Campbell to be sent to me. They came very safe in good condition and were most acceptable. I am much of your oppinion, that the Exchange of Money from London to Scotland is very high, being no lesse than fifteen in the hundred, all which I might save hereafter by sending up fine Gold not current, or silver bullion, to the value of what I need at each time, which will yield all it costs me here, with the Goldsmiths at London, if ye would be pleased to acquaint me by Post always so soon as ye have collected five or six pounds worth of medals for me : I will never misse some commerade going from this to London once every fourthnight, who will be very carefull of my Bussienesse. If ye approve of this be pleased to let me know by post, at your best convenienceny, and if ye like not this course I shall order your Bils to be paid at London as formerly. The medals I most desire are such Silver consular ones as I want, which my List you have will inform you off, as also what Imperiall Silver Pieces ye may get for completeing my Series ; as for the high priced pieces of those Emperours I already have with ordnair Reverses, I care not to delay them a while till I get my set or Heads somewhat full. This Bearer Mr Weedale my speciall good friend does me the favour to cary this Letter being ambitious of the honour of your acquanitance, and if ye please to lay any commands on him will be

very ready to serve you. I shall have occasion shortly to write with ane other friend by whom I intend to send you some few Scotch Fossils and therefore shall only now add that I am,

Honoured Sir,
Your most oblidged humble Servant,
JA : SUTHERLAND. (102)

SUTHERLAND TO RALPH THORESBY (1687-1768), F.R.S., Historian of Leeds.

Honoured Sir, Edinburgh, June 1, 1702.

I have sent herewith, inclosed in a Box, by your friend Mr. Currer, of Leeds, a few ancient coins of Henry the Second and Third of England, with some small foreign ones I supposed you might want, as also a few Scotch fossils I lately discovered some ten miles from this place, and in the bottom of the box you will find, wrapped in paper, a stone I esteem very curious; it smells strong of violets, and if you put it in warm water, after a short time it will communicate its scent to the water, and continue as strong smelld as before. There are several sizes of it found above ground, lying by a brook-side in the north of Scotland, some four-score miles from this; I had got four of them, one I sent to Mr. Charleton, of the Middle Temple lately deceased to my great regret and loss, and another to the Museum at Oxford, the fourth I reserve for Dr. Richardson. The bearer being in haste, I have not time to enlarge, but shall write by post, which I know will reach you before this. I am honoured Sir,

Your most obliged humble Servant,
JAMES SUTHERLAND. (44, 103)

SUTHERLAND TO DR. RICHARDSON.

Worthy Sir, Edinburgh, September 19th, 1702.

I received your much-longed for letter, with a very ample satisfieing account of what remarkeable occurred in your last spring journey to London. I have hade the honour of the acquaintance of some of those learned and curious Gentlemen ye met with, as Dr Uvedale at Enfield, who has given me frequent supplies of rare seeds and plants from his famous and well-stocked garden, and Mr. James Petiver, who has gifted me with a good number of his *Centuries*. While Mr. Charleton lived, I kept a constant correspondence with him; and he kept for me such duplicates of medals as came in his way and he thought I might want; and now, by means of my speciall good friend, Dr Sherard, I'me in hopes to have the same with Dr Sloane, who has succeeded to Mr. Charleton's collection. I've heard much of Mr Stonestreet, both for shels and medals, and intend to use my best endeavours for his acquaintance. I have not yet hade any account of Mr Buddle, who, ye say, is reputed the most skillfull

in the knowledge of grasses and mosses of any in England : I should be glade to be further inform'd of him by your next. Some ten dayes after I received your's, and also a letter from Mr. Brown, by the common post, your box came to my hands in good condition. It was close nailed, the empty parts filled up with saw-dust, and contain'd about the number of sixteen fossils, all wrapt up in papers, one shell, five brass medals, five silver ones, two of a coarser metall, all Roman, and one small Spanish silver Real. All these were very acceptable ; and I was exceeding glade that ye hade not sent the plants with them, and think they may come much better next spring. I find occasions of transmitting boxes uncertain and unsure by the common carriers, and therefore shall wait the opportunity of some acquaintance going from this place for London by York, with whom I shall send the violet smelling stone, Elf arrow, some fossils got ip this country, with what ancient Scotch coyns I have for you. All shall be put up in a box, sealed and directed for yow, to be left with Mr James Scourfield, Druggist, in Pettergate, York. When the Bryonia nigra [*Tamus communis* L.] seeds are ready, I request ye would gather some for me, as also of the Frangula, if it grows with yow, and any other seeds of your *plantae indigenae* ye think I may want. What ever ancient Roman or Saxon coyns ye can purchase for me, ye shall be thankfully repayed with Scotch pieces, which I shall reserve for you as they come in my way. I should be glade of a list of the Scotch ones ye have already, that I may the better know whether ye desire any in gold. Set down the size, weight, and inscriptions of the pieces ye have. Dr Oliphant gives you his humble service.

I am, worthy Sir,

Your most humble obliged servant,

JA : SUTHERLAND. (34, 101)

This concludes Sutherland's correspondence. The other letters of which mention has been made now follow.

CHARLES PRESTON TO SIR HANS SLOANE.

Sir,

Edinburgh, Sepr. II, 1697.

Since I arrived here I have been a little taken up with visiting freinds and the weather is so inconstant that I have had but little time to view the gardens here. I have collected a few specimens allready and when the season shall permitt I shall continue to collect more. I find severall good plants here which I think are not in England. Mr Sutherland has put the garden into very good order, the plants being disposed according to Dr Herman's flora Battava, but he resolves to alter that method this season ; what method he will follow next he is not as yet determined. . . .

CHARLES PRESTON. (83)

CHARLES PRESTON TO SIR HANS SLOANE.

Edr., Feb. 23, 1699.

Honrd. Sir,

. . . You mention a catalogue of Bottanick Books near Edr. I suppose it is the catalogue of the Library of the famous bottanist here Murray of Levingston who dyed in France herborizing the Alps and who in his travels sent hence a number of curious plants and seeds to his country garden, and whose ruine gave beginning to our physical garden att Edinburgh. I shall endeavour to procure a catalogue of his books which I shall send you. . . .

CHARLES PRESTON. (84)

CHARLES PRESTON TO SIR HANS SLOANE.

Edinburgh, Dec. 26, 1701.

Honrd. Sir,

Mr. Sutherland had lately sent him [Dr. Skene] a small water-fowl caught on the sea-coast about 4 miles east from this place it is one of the palmipes and trydactylous kind. Mr Sutherland and I turned over Willoughby but could not find it there described ; it is about the bigness of an ordinary swallow of a black colour with a white ring near the tail it has a small beak but not hooked the legs very small and feet corresponding, some think it resembles the figure of that mentioned in Martin's voyage to St. Kilda under the name of Assilag but he having given me an account of the colour of that fowl and it differing also in the Beak makes me conjecture it may be a different species.

Books lately printed and printing.

Sir Andrew Balfours letters giving an account of his travels are printed here but not as yet published.

CHARLES PRESTON. (85)

CHARLES PRESTON TO SIR HANS SLOANE.

Edr. Sepr. 11, 1705.

Honr'd Sir,

Mr. James Sutherland has made a donation of all his meddals with his books on yt. subject to ye faculty of advocates for qch they are obligeid to pay him yearly during life a sallary of 50 lib. st : and to be Keeper of them.

CHARLES PRESTON. (86)

CHARLES PRESTON TO SIR HANS SLOANE.

Edr. Jan. 19, 1706.

Honr'd Sir,

Mr. James Sutherland being a little superannuat the Surgeon apothecaries have been pleased to appoyn me in his place therefor you'l please to acquaint Mr Doody [Curator, Chelsea Garden] and my other bottanick freinds att London yt. if they can spare any seeds or plants yt. are curious especially those of ye dispensatory plants I shall not fail of a suitable return.

CHARLES PRESTON. (87)

SIR ROBERT SIBBALD TO SIR HANS SLOANE.

Edinburgh, 26th June, 1699.

Sir,

Mr. Sutherland made voyage to some parts of this Country which lyeth south from this and heth found a good many rare plants, some of which he never found growing wild in this country before. If you desire I shall send you an account of them. At St. Ruths Church in the Parish of Comlongon in Annandale he found several curious inscriptions and sculptures upon a cross there. . . .

(No signature). (88)

R. WODROW TO R. SIBBALD.

15th September, 1699.

" I received yours by Mr Sutherland whom I heartily wish I could have better entertained both upon your recommendation and his own worth. I account myself happy that I have any acquaintance of so learned and curiose a gentleman." (104).

WODROW TO SUTHERLAND (in a letter about coins).

Dec. 1700.

" The unkindly winter for herbalizing being now come on I have lost hope of seeing you here this season . . ." (105).

R. WODROW TO SUTHERLAND.

" I am much satisfied if I can be any way accessory to ye augmenting of your noble collection.

As to what you write concerning the physick garden I have no doubt but our printer Mr Stirling will encourage it. I shall contribute all I can to it; but as to ye proposale you make of my taking care of it I know it proceeds from your respect to me but I hope if

once it were begun a better hand shall be found to oversee it than I ever can hope to be. The bearer herof Mr Crawford is a comrade of mine very desirous to have the happiness of your acquaintance . . . ”

Dec. 29, 1701 R. WOODROW. (106)

From the documents brought together in the preceding pages, although it is inevitable that in attempting to reconstruct the story of the early days of the Garden at so distant a date the result should be incomplete, nevertheless it is clear that during his thirty years as “ Intendant ” Sutherland had succeeded in making the Physic and Botanic Gardens of Edinburgh to be regarded as among the richest of those which were established during the seventeenth century. The Botanic Garden at Edinburgh had become known throughout Europe for the variety and number of its plants—a reputation which happily has endured.

James Sutherland deserves to be remembered. In 1706, at the age of about sixty-eight, he resigned the care of the Town’s Garden and the Professorship in the University, “ resolved to live more retiredly ” and to “ applie himself to the study of Medals.” (67) For many years he had “ taught the science of herbs to the students of medicine for small fees, receiving no other encouragement than a salary of twenty pounds from the city, which did not suffice to pay rent and servants wages, to say nothing of the cost of new plants, so difficult to procure in those non-travelling times.” (18)

Had any of Sutherland’s later letters been preserved it would have been interesting to learn from them further details regarding his resolution to relinquish this work but here again there is discontinuity of record. From what we have seen of his life and character he was a man of great activity and industry. Sutherland was a keen gardener ; he was also a keen numismatist. His valuable collection of coins passed eventually to the Edinburgh Society of Antiquaries, and it may be mentioned that in 1881 the cabinet which held his coins was sold for the large sum of £3,500. Although no longer “ Intendant ” of the Physic Garden and Professor in the College, for eight years longer Sutherland retained the office of King’s Botanist and Regius Professor of Botany under a second Royal Warrant issued in 1710 under the Seal of Queen Anne. (78) The extant documents relating to his retirement are as follows :

“ 1705, August 29th.—The same day the Councill with the extraordinar Deacons being informed by Henry Hamiltone present Deacon of the Chyrurgeons that Master James Sutherland Keeper of the Colledge and Physick Gairdenes was very much Defective in his duty as to the teaching chyrurgeon Apprentices the Science of bottony which was a considerable part of his employment And also were informed by the principall and thesaurer of the Colledge that the yaird of the said Colledge was altogether neglected and noeways

keeped in order as it ought to be they therfore with the extraordinar Deacons doe therby restrict his pensione of twenty pound starlire yearly payable be the Colledge thesaurer to five pound starlire and peremptorly commanded the said Master James Sutherland to give better attendance both in the Colledge and Physick gaardenes certifieing if he falyties soe to doe the Councill would Deprive him both of the remaining five pound starlire payable by the Colledge thesaurer and also of the soume of ten pound starlire payable by Thomas Fisher the good touns Chamberlain for overseeing the phisick gairdine." (67)

" 1706, May 8th.—The same day the Councill with the extraordinar Deacons considering that Master James Sutherland Master of the phisick and colledge gardens and professor of Bottanie of this City is resolved to live more retirdly and to quite the said professione and applie himself to the studie of meddalls and the Councill being most willing and desirous that the said science be promoted in the said Citie and the abilitie and qualifications of Charles Prestoune doctor of Medicine for teaching therof being sufficientlie knownen Therefore the Councill with the extraordinar Deacons have nominate and elected and hereby nominate and elect the said Doctor Charles Prestone to be professor of Bottanie and Master of the Physick and Colledge Gardens of this citie in place of the said Mr. James Sutherland with power to him to cultivate and possess the said gardens house at the north port and pertinents Sicklike and also freely in all respects as the said Mr. James Sutherland did cultivate and possess the same and allows to him the soume of fifteen pound starlire money of yearlie sellary for his encouradgement to carrie on the said prefessione of Bottany cultivate the said gairdines respective and to keep correspondence for procureing plants and seeds from forraigne countries and declares his entry therto to be and begin at the terme of Whitsunday next to come and apoints the said sellarie to be payed to him in manner following viz.:—ten pound starlire money yearly by Thomas Fisher the good touns chamberlaine and his successors in Office and five pound starlire yearly by James Dewar present colledge treasurer and his successors in Office and that quarterly Beginning the first quarters payment at Lambas next to come and thence furth quarterly dureing the councill's pleasure." (68)

The Warrant granted to Sutherland by Queen Anne already referred to is to be found in the Register of the Privy Seal.

" Mr. James Sutherland. March 17th, 1710.

" Anne &c. Forasmuch as Wee takeing into our Consideration the Services done by Mr. James Sutherland, Battanist in putting in order the Gardens about Our Palace of Holyroodhouse, and the pains he has been at in setting up a physick garden att Edinburgh and in teaching oys the knowledge of plants Therfor Witt ye us (wt.

Consent of the Lords Comrs. of our Thesary and Excheqr.) To have Given granted and dispone Likeas We with advice and consent forsd By these pnts Give Grant and Dispone to the said Mr. James Sutherland dureing our pleasure only a yearly pension of fifty pound Sterling money to be payed him out of the first and readyest of our rents revenues customs and casualitys whatsomever of our Said Kingdom of Scotland and that at two terms in the year Whitsunday and Martimas by equall portions Beginning the first termes payment att the terme of Whitsunday nixt and Sofurth to Continue yearly and Termely therafter dureing the Space forsaid Commanding hereby the Saide Lords Comrs. of our Thesaury and all Collectors and Receivers of our rents and revenues aforsaid present or for the time being to readyly answer and pay the forsaid pensione of ffifty pounds money forsaid to the Said Mr. James Sutherland who's receipt to them in haile or in part Shall be to them and the Lords Auditors of their Accounts for allowing the Same a Sufficient warrand Given under &c. Att our Court of St. James's the 22nd Febry. and of our Reigne the first year 1702-3." (78)

Charles Preston (whose letters have been quoted) succeeded Sutherland in the Town's Garden and College in 1706. There were thus for a time rival gardens and rival professors of Botany in Edinburgh. Charles Preston held office till 1712 and his brother George was his successor. Sutherland continued to be King's Botanist, Keeper of the Royal Garden and Regius Professor of Botany until the death of Queen Anne in 1714. In 1715 William Arthur succeeded him in this appointment and he was in turn succeeded by Charles Alston in 1716. For fifty-five years Charles Alston continued to hold office, and in 1729, when George Preston retired, he was elected to the Town's Professorship in addition to his royal appointment. Thus after an interval of twenty-three years the appointments were again united, and have continued so till the present time.

Of the Prestons and of Charles Alston I hope to give a fuller account at a later date ; of William Arthur's short tenure of office and adventurous career an account has already been published by Sir Isaac Bayley Balfour in the Transactions of the Botanical Society of Edinburgh. (6)

Sir Robert Sibbald in a postscript (written closely under the signature) to a letter to Sir Hans Sloane, dated the 25th February, 1714, states :

" Mr. Sutherland is yet alive but keeps his chamber as doe I we come but seldom abroade, it is fitt you send your proposals to him, he can best answer your demande. If I can by comparring the accounts of the plants I found here, discover they are not mentioned by Mr Ray, I shall write to you what they are." (89)

The history of the first half century of the Edinburgh Botanic Garden may be said to end with the death of James Sutherland in 1719 (46). In the records of the Greyfriars Burying Ground in Edinburgh there is an entry :

" 1719, June 26.—Mr James Sutherland—professor of Botanie and late Mr. of the phisick garden aged above 80 years, died 24, and buried 26 close to the south west corner of Mortons Staine." (72)

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 58. —— vol. 35, f. 122, 1st February, 1695.
 59. —— vol. 35, f. 146, 29th March, 1695. Minute with regard to improving the College Garden and repair of Professor's House.
 60. —— vol. 35, f. 327, 9th June, 1697. Mr. Sutherland allowed £25 by Town Council for repair of garden hedges.
 61. —— vol. 36, f. 211, 28th December, 1698. Payment to Cleghorn gardener at College.
 62. —— vol. 36, f. 283, 5th May, 1699.
 63. —— vol. 36, f. 263, 5th April, 1699.
 64. —— vol. 37, f. 13, 24th December, 1701.
 65. —— vol. 36, f. 821, 4th June, 1701.
 66. —— vol. 37, f. 781, 12th April, 1704. Town Council orders repairs to Trinity Hospital garden.
 67. —— vol. 38, f. 352, 29th August, 1705.
 68. —— vol. 38, f. 533, 8th May, 1706.
 69. —— vol. 50, f. 374, 11th November, 1724.
 70. —— vol. 59, f. 103, 10th May, 1738.
 71. Kemp, D. W. Memoir of James Sutherland, 1639-1719, first Professor of Botany, Edinburgh University, 1710 (at the Royal Botanic Garden).
 72. Greyfriar's Burying Ground, Edinburgh, records of, vol. 14 (26th June, 1719), p. 40.
 73. Privy Council, Register of. No. 2, p. 609, 17th June, 1663.
 74. Privy Council Decreta, Register of. 17th April, 1684. (Complaint by Sutherland against Lady Rosyth for negligently causing a fire—damages 500 merks.)
 75. Privy Council, Register of. 14th March, 1693.
 76. Privy Council, Register of. 12th December, 1695.
 77. Privy Seal, Register of. Vol. 5, f. 126, 12th January, 1699.
 78. Privy Seal, Register of. March, 1710. Vol. 6, f. 243.
 79. Royal College of Surgeons, Records of. Vol. 3, p. 2, 11th June, 1695.
 80. (Rutherford, D. ?). Lives of Sir Robert Sibbald, M.D., and Dr. A. Pitcairne, the first Professors of Medicine in the University of Edinburgh (at the Royal Botanic Garden).
 81. Secreti Concilii Decreta, Register. Jan. 1692-May, 1694.
 82. Sibbald, Sir Robert. Autobiography (in the Scottish National Library).

LETTERS PRESERVED IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

Preston to Sir Hans Sloane.

83. 11th September, 1697, ex Sloane M.S. 4036 f. 349.
 84. 23rd February, 1699, " " 4037 f. 372.
 85. 26th December, 1701, " " 4038 f. 279.
 86. 11th September, 1705, " " 4040 f. 63.
 87. 19th January, 1706, " " 4040 f. 112.

Sibbald to Sir Hans Sloane.

88. 26th June, 1699, ex Sloane MS., 4037, f. 295.
 89. 25th February, 1714, ex Sloane MS., 4065, f. 147.

Sutherland to J. Petiver.

90. 25th March, 1700. 9/4063.
 91. 29th April, 1700. 17/4063.
 92. 8th May, 1700. 23/4063.
 93. 15th May, 1700. 26/4063.
 94. 24th January, 1700. 32/4063. Received 5th July, 1700.
 95. 17th September, 1700. 43/4063.
 96. 16th January, 1701. 59/4063.
 97. 29th January, 1701. 101/4063.
 98. 22nd August, 1701. 110/4063.

Sutherland to Dr. Richardson.

99. 20th May, 1700. 747/123.
 100. 11th July, 1700.
 101. 19th September, 1702.

Sutherland to Sir Hans Sloane.

102. 11th December, 1701, Rowan Sloane MS., 4038, f. 276.

Sutherland to Ralph Thoresby.

103. 1st June, 1702.

Wodrow to Sibbald.

- *104. 15th September, 1699.

Wodrow to Sutherland.

- *105. Dec., 1700.

- *106. 29th Dec., 1701.

* Copies in the Library of Edinburgh University.

PAPERS RELATING TO MR. JAMES SUTHERLAND'S COLLECTION OF COINS NOT QUOTED IN THE PRESENT ACCOUNT.

107. Gordon, Alex. *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, 1727, p. 119 (Sutherland's coins).
 108. Circular Letter in Archives of Royal Society of London, 22nd June, 1699.
 (Asking for coins on behalf of Mr. Sutherland.)
 109. Scotsman, Tuesday, 12th April, 1881. (Cabinet sold for £3,500.)
 110. Murray, D., LL.D., F.S.A. *Museums, their History and Use*, vol. i, 1904,
 pp. 135, 159, 160. (Sutherland's collection of coins.)
 111. Minutes of the Faculty of Advocates, 4th January, 1704, 5th July, 1705,
 29th November, 1707, MS. (Negotiations for the purchase of Sutherland's
 collection of coins.)
 112. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 11th April, 1881.
 (Sutherland's collection of coins and Louis XV. cabinet.)
 113. Thoresby, Ralph, F.R.S. *Ducatus Leodiensis*, 1715, pp. 24-6, 32, 54
 (Curiosities of his Museum, a stone smelling of violets sent him by James
 Sutherland.)

APPENDIX.

In the course of the text frequent reference is made to transactions both in Scots money and in Sterling. The value of the mark in England was 160 pence, i.e., 13s. 4d., or $\frac{2}{3}$ of the £ sterling. Twenty shillings Scots (the Scots pound) were equal to twenty pennies sterling and the value of the mark in Scotland was lowered proportionately so that it represented 13s. 4d. Scots, reckoned as 13 $\frac{1}{3}$ d. English. A Rex dollar was valued about 2s. 4d.

It is difficult to ascertain the real value of money in Scotland in the second half of the seventeenth century as the economic history of this period has yet to be written.

Dr. Wood has, however, been good enough to supply the following figures from various account books and diaries, which give some idea of the cost of living in Scots money.

BREAD.—There were three kinds: wheaten, Sour and masloch (numbered here as 1, 2, 3). The weight of bread per 1s. loaf was as follows:—1654: 1, 8 oz. 4 dwt.; 2, 11 oz.; 3, 13 oz. 12 dwt. 1659: 1, 8 oz.; 2, 10 oz. 10 dwt.; 3, 13 oz. 4 dwt. 1660: 1, 9 oz. 5 dwt.; 2, 12 oz. 6 dwt.; 3, 15 oz. 7 dwt. 1664: 1, 10 oz. 3 dwt.; no others given. 1666: 1, 12 oz. 6 dwt.; 2, 1 lb. 8 dwt.; 3, 1 lb. 4 oz. 1699: 1, 7 oz. 7 dwt.; 2, 9 oz. 8 dwt.; 3, none given.

The figures show that the cost of living did not fluctuate much. The variations were consequent on the kind of harvest and follow them very accurately.

Price of ALE, per pint (Scots).—1654, not above 2s.; 1659, not above 2s. 8d. (the price accounted for by a tax of 8d. on the pint); 1664, strong ale 2s.; single ale 1s.

Price of WINE (Scots).—1661, 36s. (Spanish); 1664, 16s. (French); 36s. (Spanish); 1697, 32s. (claret and white wine), 44s. (Sack), 36s. (Canary).

In 1657 market prices in Edinburgh were as follows:—a goose, 18s.; a capon, 12s.; a hen, 8s.; a pair of chickens, 6s.; a pair of doves, 3s.; a hare, 6s.; a rabbit, 8s.; a duck, 8s.; a wild duck, 10s.; a dozen eggs, 2s.; 1 lb. fresh butter, 5s.; 1 lb. salt butter, 4s. 6d.; a stone of cheese, £2.

Meat was cheap enough. In 1707 a side of veal cost 36s., while a lamb cost 2s.; candles were 4s. the lb.